FBIS DAILY REPORT

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PACT DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET IN WARSAW

Warsaw Report

LD212124 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] A consultative meeting of deputy foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states was held in Warsaw 20-21 December. It was devoted to a discussion of preparations for the conference on confidence- and security-building measures as well as disarmament in Europe, due to open in Stockholm on 17 January.

Budapest Report

LD211855 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw Pact deputy foreign ministers have discussed, in the Polish capital, the preparation of the European disarmament conference in Stockholm. The Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Polish, Hungarian, GDR, Romanian, and Soviet deputy foreign ministers took part in the consultation. Istvan Roska represented our country. It is known that the conference in Stockholm starting in mid-January is to deal with European confidence- and security-building measures, as well as with disarmament.

Bucharest Report

AU212055 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] A consultative meeting of deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact states took place in Warsaw. Representatives from Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Hungary took part. The Romanian delegation was led by Gheorghe Dolgu, deputy minister of foreign affairs. The consultative meeting occasioned an exchange of views on issues concerning preparations for the conference on trust, security, and disarmament in Europe, scheduled to start on 17 January 1984 in stockholm.

The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and full mutual understanding.

RUDE PRAVO EDITORIAL VIEWS DISARMAMENT TALKS

AU211524 Prague RUDE PRAVO Czech 20 Dec 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Unchanged Orientation Towards Peace and Understanding"]

[Text] In ancient times, actors used to hide their faces behind masks, the deadpan grimaces of which characterized the figure's traits in advance. American policy, too, is now putting on a mask: the mask of sanctimonious persons who were supposedly burning with desire to reach an agreement in Geneva with the Soviet Union on curbing the arms race. But what is the truth? It is precisely through the fault of the present U.S. Administration, headed by President Reagan, that the international situation has become much more exacerbated and that a new round of feverish nuclear as well as conventional arms race is about to start. Why, in fact, does Washington now so ardently stress its readiness to return at any time to the conference table in Geneva?

Part of the answer was given by the British newspaper THE TIMES after the NATO Brussels session. It wrote, in connection with the flood of words about NATO's willingness to negotiate, that their authors would simply like to "allay the fears of members of the antiwar movement in Western Europe about the repercussions of the deployment of American missiles in that region."

The United States would no doubt like to return to Geneva. Indeed, the situation in which it can pretend to be talking while implementing in the FRG, Great Britain, and Italy its key arms program -- the deployment of first-strike nuclear weapons aimed at the countries of the socialist community -- suits it well. This is confirmed by the entire 2-year history of the talks.

First, Washington refused to ratify SALT II, which had already beer signed. After President Reagan's inauguration it then took a whole year before Washington accepted new negotiations, and that only under pressure from its allies. It then turned out that the Reagan administration was beginning to misuse the talks in Geneva as a smokescreen to conceal its true intentions -- to change the correlation of forces in Europe and in the world to its advantage and to create conditions for the implementation of its insane plans to wage a "limited" nuclear war in Europe, to launch a "disarming" and "unpunishable" nuclear strike against the socialist countries. The so-called zero options and interim solutions with which the American delegation came to Geneva pursued one aim only -- to force the Soviet Union -- by threatening the deployment of new American nuclear missiles -- to unilaterally disarm and thus to jeopardize its defense capability.

Throughout the duration of the Geneva talks, American preparations for deploying new missiles in Europe were running at full speed. Bases, shelters, and command posts were being built; Pershing and cruise missiles were being tested; service crews and special anti-demonstration police units were being trained.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, approached the Geneva talks with sincerity and the will to arrive at an acceptable compromise. At the very start of the talks, it declared a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles in Europe, committed itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and called on the United States to adopt the same commitment. It proposed a procedure, the aim of which was to greadually reduce nuclear arsenals in Europe and to do so down to zero, to a genuine "zero option."

However, the American side was boycotting these initiatives. Quite the contrary, unilaterally and regardless of the talks, it began to deploy its new nuclear missiles in three West European countries. It thus made further talks on nuclear arms in Europe pointless. The Soviet Union simply could not negotiate at a U.S. nuclear gunpoint. It would be deceiving itself, its allies, and the West European public.

The United States has not only dashed the negotiations on nuclear weapons in Europe, but by its approach also deprived the Geneva talks on limiting and reducing strategic weapons, which have not been interrupted without a new date for their resumption being set, of their substance. From the Soviet point of view, the new American first-strike missiles are of a strategic character, and thus demolish the starting point for negotiations as well as the principle of equal security, not to mention the fact that the United States has unfolded a program of strategic rearmament [prezbrojeni], which is unprecedented in history.

American imperialism and its NATO allies chose the same approach at the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and armament in central Europe. Even after 31 rounds of negotiations, no progress has been achieved through the fault of the NATO states. On the contrary, as the NATO states -- under U.S. pressure -- have launched a new phase of feverish armament in Europe, and not only of nuclear armament, but also of conventional armament. The appeal of the Warsaw Pact states for achieving decisive progress at the Vienna negotiations this year, contained in the Prague Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee, has not been acknowledged, nor have the initiative proposals of a group of the socialist countries in Vienna of 17 Febraury and 23 June 1983. It is being affirmed that the deployment of American first-strike missiles in Europe is the thrust of a broadly-based strategy of American imperialism, aimed at gaining military-strategic superiority over the socialist countries. The deployment of new American missiles in Europe constitutes of a serious shift away from the spirit of the treaties concluded between the socialist countries and the FRG, from the Final Act of the CSCE, and it makes the continuation of the policy worked out in Helsinki more difficult.

The highest Warsaw Pact representatives have with full seriousness drawn attention to the fact that the countries of the socialist community will not permit the upsetting of the balance of forces. Soviet officials have several times in succession very clearly said that the beginning of the deployment of new American missiles will be the end of the Geneva negotiations which, because of this, will lose all meaning. Despite this, Washington has not abandoned its attempts to deploy new weapons.

For this reason the countries of the socialist community have been forced to adopt without delay retaliatory measures, among them preparations for the deployment of longer-range missiles of operational-tactical designation in the CSSR and the GDR. The retaliatory measures have the objective of discouraging an adversary from any adventurous gamble and preventing the upsetting of the balance of forces in Europe. These measures, as has already been stated, will be realized precisely within such a framework which will be compelled by actions of the NATO countries. The socialist countries in fact are not striving for military superiority over anyone. But they also will not conduct discussions with anyone when it comes to the sacred cause of their defense. And thus the following question comes to the fore: Are these ways out of this situation?

Yes, there are. They are contained in the statement of Comrade Yuriy Andropov of 24 November. The highest Soviet representative stressed that "if the United States and the other NATO countries are willing to return to the state that existed prior to the start of the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union will also be willing to do so."

'Our earlier proposals for limiting and reducing nuclear weapons in Europe would then come into effect again. In that case, provided that the earlier status quo is restored, the USSR's unilateral pledges in this sphere would also be valid again." This is a sufficiently telling stand. The socialist countries, which are compelled to strengthen their defense capability, do not intend on any account to abandon their purposeful policy aimed at seeking paths toward an understanding and toward reducing international tension. the socialist countries are promoting a Europe without nuclear arms, both intermediate-range and tactical ones. They fully support the broad antiwar movement which is striving in Western Europe to frustrate the plans of warmongers.

In a few weeks, in mid-January, representatives of 33 European countries, the United States, and Canada will meet in Stockholm to deliberate, in harmony with the conclusions of the Madrid meeting, on measures for strengthening trust and security and on disarmament in Europe. Like the delegations of the other socialist countries, the Czechoslovak delegation will also strive in Stockholm, in keeping with its unchangeable orientation in foreign policy, to push through the results that would contribute toward realistically improving trust on our continent through decreasing tension and halting armament races. In the first phase of this conference, the range of the deliberations will be nominally narrow -- it will concern measures for strengthening trust; but in practice it will concern very broad problems, for if trust is established among the European states, it will also become far easier to achieve progress in other spheres, above all, in limiting armament, particularly nuclear armament, and also in achieving progress in the direction of disarmament. In the interests of the peaceful future of Europe and of the whole planet, it is desirable that all participants in this impending all-European forum travel to Stockholm with the will to reach a positive conclusion there. Czechoslovakia will travel to Stockholm with this will.

As stated by Comrade Gustav Husak in his concluding statement at the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session. "The permanent line of our foreign policy continues to be the struggle for peace, for international detente for a constructive solution of contemporary international problems, and for disarmament. The strengthening aggressive policy of imperialism makes it necessary for us to continue to struggle for maintaining peace with yet greater emphasis and intensity." This standpoint fully expresses the prudent peace position of the peace-loving public on our continent. This fully corresponds to the interests of our people.

MBFR DEBATES TERMED 'FRUITLESS', RESULTS 'NIK'

AU211544 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by Colonel Engineer Lyubomir Mikhaylov: "Even the Last Screen Has Collapsed"]

[Text] The 31st round of the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe has ended. As was the case throughout the last 10 years since the very beginning of these negotiations, this time too the representatives of the participating countries closed their diplomatic attache cases after fruitless debates and, as usual, the result can be considered nil. This time again everything proceeded according to a well-known pattern, with a small difference in the final stage -- namely that this time the socialist countries' delegates did not determine the date of the next session, but it was declared that the date of resuming the talks will be set through diplomatic channels. For several years, the socialist countries participating in the Vienna negotiations have produced numerous proofs of their good will. It is a universally recognized fact that for several months a draft proposal on arms reductions accompanied by a document providing for control measures has been lying on the negotiating table at the Vienna Hofburg.

In support of this document, Ambassador V. Mikhaylov, the Soviet delegation leader, declared that the Soviet Union has always expressed its readiness to reduce conventional arms and armaments in central Europe. He expressed his regret that the constructive proposals submitted by the socialist countries have so far not received any positive reply from the Western side. As a matter of fact, this stand of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is by no means new. It consistently reflects genuine good will. Unfortunately, there is also nothing new about the unwillingness of the West to adopt even one single constructive step along the path of a mutually advantageous agreement. Anyone who has attentively followed the development of negotiations can assess the fact that the socialist countries' proposals are not only numerous, but that in their very essence they represent a sensible reply to a number of stands expressed by the West. To put it more precisely, they contain elements of compromise and of clarification, which for example, put an end to the so-called "data question". It is sufficient to cite this fact in order to understand that the proposal for an agreement submitted by the socialist countries on 7 February 1983 implies the intention of proceeding toward actual reductions in order to achieve the ceilings which both negotiating sides have already accepted, instead of engaging in endless and vain discussions about figures.

The situation in Europe has recently changed considerably. The obvious unwillingness of the Western participants in the negotiations to overcome the deadlock is additionally aggravated by the beginning of the deployment of new U.S. missiles on the territories of countries participating in the Vienna negotiations. Even the most unprejudiced observer cannot help asking himself whether it is a pure coincidence that the draft agreement submitted by the NATO states in 1982 did not contain even a word about any reductions of armaments whatsoever. Thus, the Geneva negotiations on intermediate-range missiles and the START talks, as well as the Vienna negotiations have been used for 10 years as a screen behind which the Western military clique has been intensifying the arms race. After the USSR left the Geneva negotiations, the present firm stand of the socialist countries shows that they are no longer willing to support the U.S. and NATO propaganda noise. An increasing number of people are becoming aware of the fact that the mask of negotiations donned by the Western representatives has been used by them in order to make them appear as the first peace-lovers and that this mask can no longer conceal their warmongering character, their true goals and dangerous intentions. As a result of the decisive and unmistakable actions of the socialist countries in Vienna, even the last screen behind which the West has been hiding has finally collapsed. The socialist community countries can no longer tolerate the fact that they should be, even indirectly, involved in an imperialist conspiracy against peace.

When the Geneva talks were interrupted thanks to the United States, the conservative Western press tried to calm European public opinion by saying that the Soviet Union will resume negotiations sooner or later. However, as has been repeatedly stressed on the Soviet side, it is well-known how the results of such negotiations would look following the deployment of American missiles in Europe. Under the sinister shadow of "Pershing II" and "cruise" missiles, the Western media still continue to ask themselves whether the Vienna negotiations will be pursued. All of them -- BBC, UPI, AFP, and REUTER -- have asked this same question, probably being quite aware of the fact, without wishing to admit it, that the Western stand continues to be deprived of any political good will and constructive spirit. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries, on the other hand, have always manifested their sincere readiness and wish to negotiate, and through these negotiations to take into consideration the interests of both sides, their sincere readiness to alleviate confrontation, instead of increasing them, as well as to stave off thermonuclear war instead of bringing it closer. Such negotiations, however, demand two honest partners. So far, the West is not prepared for this mission of responsibility.

SERGEY ANTONOV PLACED UNDER HOUSE ARREST IN ROME

Sofia Radio Report

AU211642 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] From today, Sergey Antonov will be under house arrest in Rome. The Italian news agency ANSA has reported that the order on transferring Antonov from Rebibbia prison was signed by the investigating judge, Martella, following a request by the defense, which was based on the worsening health of the employee of Bulgarian Civil Aviation, BALKA. Sergey Antonov was arrested 13 months ago on a false charge concerning his participation in the attempt against the life of Pope John II.

BTA Director's Statement

AU211818 Sofia BTA in English 1746 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Sofia, Dec 21 (BTA) -- Prompted by the ANSA report that the Bulgarian national Sergey Antonov charged of complicity to the assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II, was freed from Rome's Rebibbia prison and was to stay under house arrest, today Mr Royan Traykov, the director general of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY, made the following statement:

I am surprised that Sergey Antonov has not been released fully and finally but has only been taken out of the prison and put under house arrest. After it became perfectly clear that he and Bulgarians in general had nothing to do whatsoever with the papal attempt, after the world press, the Bulgarian and international public have been looking forward to Antonov's release for a long time now, the decision of merely changing the form of custody without this meaning his release, is rather unsatisfactory. It is high time for justice to triumph and the Bulgarian national Sergey Antonov immediately freed, unconditionally and fully, on grounds of absolute innocence.

1984 TRADE PROTOCOL WITH SFRY SIGNED

AU211653 Sofia BTA in English 1433 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA) -- The economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia develops very well. The beginning of the joint production and specialization has been laid which creates conditions for more stable and long-term contacts. This is how Mr Metodij Smilevski, state deputy secretary of foreign trade of Yugoslavia, described the state of Bulgaro-Yugoslav trade and economic relations before a Bulgarian journalist, Today he, together with Mr Atanas Ginev, first deputy minister of foreign trade, signed a trade and services protocol between the two neighboring countries for 1984.

The protocol intends trade to amount to 312 million dollars. Two-thirds of the exchanged goods are products of the mechanical engineering, chemistry, metallurgy, electronics and one-third -- consumer goods. Next year great importance will be attached to the frontier trade. The document plans also for the quantities of the Zastava cars which have been imported to Bulgaria and of the Bulgarian spare parts for these cars, exported from Bulgaria, and of goods of the electronic and mechanical engineering, to be increased on the basis of the industrial cooperation. The goods of the mechanical engineering will make up 30 percent of the whole trade. The volume of the frontier trade is envisaged to grow up by 100 percent.

HUSAK CONGRATULATES FRG'S BRANDT ON BIRTHDAY

AU191420 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] Prague, 16 Dec (CTK) -- Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, sent a congratulatory telegram to Willi Brandt, SPD chairman, on the latter's 70th birthday.

Among other things, the telegram underscores Willi Brandt's personal contribution toward normalizing and developing relations between the two countries and points out that the conclusion of the Treaty on Mutual Relations between the CSSR and the FRG in 1973 is linked to his effort. The telegram also expresses appreciation of his involvement in developing the process of detente and in peaceful cooperation in the world.

HUSAK RECEIVES NEW AMBASSADOR TO BELGIUM

LD210040 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, president of the Republic, in Prague today received the newly appointed ambassador of Czechoslovakia to the Kingdom of Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Jaroslav Kvacek, who is assuming his diplomatic post.

JAKES RECEIVES USSR PLANNING COMMITTEE OFFICIAL

LD212232 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Milos Jakes, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met today with Nikolay Inozemtsev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, who is on a short working visit to Czechoslovakia. In a comradely talk they assessed the current standard of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between our two countries. They evaluated the ways and possibilities to further develop cooperation in connection with the efforts of Czechoslovakia and the USSR to deepen the coordination of their economic policy.

CHARTER 77 SIGNATORY RECEIVES PRISON TERM

NC212137 Paris AFP in English 2130 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Prague, Dec 21 (AFP) -- Czech dissident Jiri Wolf, 31, was jailed for six years here today for "subversion" and "divulging secrets," one of the heaviest sentences handed down to a dissident here for about ten years, his friends said.

Mr Wolf was accused of circulating the Charter-77 human rights petition and of disclosing information about the conditions of his detention to the Austrian Embassy. He is one of the very few workers to have signed Charter-77. In 1978 it cost him three years in prison and he had previously been jailed for six months for abusing a police officer. His trial opened here on October 5 but was adjourned for psychiatric tests at the request of his lawyer.

Police barred Western diplomats from his trial.

SLOVAK PARLIAMENT APPROVES PERSONNEL CHANGES

AU191437 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 16 December on pages 1 and 2 carries a 2,300-word Antonia Slotova report on the opening session of the 11th meeting of the Slovak National Council, held in Bratislava on 15 December. Reporting on cadre changes discussed at the session, the report states: "Fedor Gulla, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic, presented a proposal for the election of the new deputy chairmen of the Slovak National Council and a new chairman of the Slovak National Council's Committee for National Committees and Minorities. He said that, owing to the death of Frantisek Hagara, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, and the resignation of Matus Benyo, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, and his being entrusted with another post, the posts of two deputy chairmen of the Slovak National Council have become vacant. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic proposed that deputy Jan Gregor be elected deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council and Deputy Dezider Krocsany deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council and chairman of the Slovak National Council's Committee for National Committees and Minorities. Deputy Matus Benyo remains member of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic further recommended that Deputy Jozef Durica be elected member of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council." The report adds that, after approving Gulla's recommendations, the Slovak National Council also elected Matus Benyo member of the Slovak National Council's Cultural and Educational Committee and Michel Zozulak member of the Slovak National Council's Constitutional and Legal Committee.

On 17 December, on pages 1 and 2, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak carries a 1,500-word Antonia Slotova report on the concluding, 16 December session of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava. According to the report, the agenda again included cadre issues. Slotova says: "The deputies discussed a proposal of the Constitutional and Legal Committee of the Slovak National Council to release 10 professional judges from their posts, the proposal of the Central Committee Presidium of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic to recall Otto Malik from the post of professional judge at the regional court in Bratislava, as well as the proposal to appoint 28 new professional judges." According to the report, the deputies "unanimously approved" all these proposed changes.

SLOVAK IDEOLOGICAL SEMINAR OPENS 14 DEC

AU161536 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Dec 83 p 2

[Teodor Hudecek report: "Analysis of Ideological Subversion; 2-Day All-Slovak Seminar in Casta"]

[Text] Casta -- A 2-day all-Slovak seminar, devoted to problems of the party's ideological work and to topical issues of the struggle against contemporary anticommunism, opened yesterday in Casta in the presence of Jan Skoda, Central Committee department head in the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL). The seminar is intended for members of the lecturing and propaganda aktiv of the CPSL's district and regional committees.

In his opening statement, Juraj Purgat, CPSL Central Committee deputy department head, stressed that the seminar is to analyze the anticommunist ideological subversion which is aimed against the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and against the Communist Party and its leading role in the socialist society, against the socialist political system, against the CPCZ's economic, social, and cultural policy, and against the unity of the countries of the socialist community.

We talk about these issues in order to acquire deeper knowledge of the methods of our adversary, which he uses to weaken the peoples' vigilance toward the threat of a nuclear catastrophe that is being prepared by the aggressive world-dominating policy of the U.S. military-industrial complex and its NATO allies. The main report on the "Contemporary Tactics of Anticommunism and Its Reflection in the Ideological Subversion Against the CSSR" was submitted by Viktor Dvorsky, CPCZ Central Committee lecturer. In the course of further deliberations, the CPSU Central Committee submitted reports devoted to problems of the criticism of anticommunist attacks against the economic policy of the CPCZ and the state; to the characteristic of peculiarities of anticommunism's attempts to influence the Czechoslovak youth; and to the criticism of anticommunist falsifications of socialist democracy and of the political system of socialism. Today the deliberations at the seminar continue with further statements and a discussion.

BRIEFS

CSSR-PRC TRADE AGREEMENT -- An agreement on the exchange of goods and payment between Czechoslovakia and China for next year was signed today in Beijing. We shall export mainly: 815 trucks, textile machinery, (?leather processing) machinery, metal-working machinery, diesel-engines, motorcycles, and other machinery and equipment. We will also export rolled materials, chemical compounds, and products. We shall import cotton, tungsten concentrate, and other raw materials, and also foodstuffs, such as rice, cocoa, meat products, corn, soya, and consumer goods. The trade agreement assumes that the volume of goods exchange will more than double compared with this year. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Dec 83 LD]

ABORTIONS ON THE RISE -- According to Dr Diri Sracek, member of the CSSR Government's Population Commission and head of the gynecology department of the regional hospital in Ostrava, there have been "more than 2 million interruptions of pregnancies before term" in Czechoslovakia since the adoption of the law on induced termination of pregnancy in January 1958. At present, there is a "slight increase" in the number of induced abortions, which shows that "our population uses abortion as a method of birth control." [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO Weekend Supplement in Czech 17 Dec 83 p 4 AU]

DRUG ABUSE DEATHS -- According to Olga Cermakova, editor in chief of MLADY SVET [a monthly illustrated youth magazine] and member of the Czech Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union, some 30 young people died from drug abuse in Czechoslovakia last year. Most of the victims were 17. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO Weekend Supplement in Czech 17 Dec 83 p 7 AU]

MITTAG MEETS USSR PLANNING COMMITTEE'S VORONIN

LD211408 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1150 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 21 Dec (ADN) -- Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, for a discussion today. The exchange of views centered on implementation of the agreements on further developing economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR concluded during a visit to the USSR by a party and state delegation led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, with Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Guenter Mittag reported on experiences and results in implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress in the field of economic and social policy, particularly the SED's economic strategy for the eighties. Lev Alekseyevich Voronin acquainted himself with further improvements in management, planning, and economic accountability during his visits to publicly-owned GDR combines.

STOPH, POLAND'S GORYWODA MEET IN BERLIN

LD212115 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1643 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 21 Dec (ADN) -- Since the friendly visit by a GDR party and state delegation to Warsaw in August the political, economic, and cultural relations between the GDR and Poland have taken a noticeable upturn. This was noted by Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers Chairman, and Manfred Gorywoda, Polish deputy premier and chairman of the Planning Commission of the Polish Council of Ministers [title as received], during a discussion in Berlin on Wednesday. In view of the U.S. policy of military confrontation and economic war against the socialist states, Stoph and Gorywoda stressed the need to further strengthen the economic strength of both countries by means of comprehensive development.

The two sides expressed their satisfaction with the fact that the bilateral goods exchange envisaged in the trade agreement for 1983 have been exceeded. The coordination of the economic plans for the period 1986-1990, which has been started by the central planning bodies, is of great importance for deepening economic relations. This has created the preconditions for even closer cooperation for the good of the two peoples.

FISCHER MEETS BRAZILIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS

LD212113 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1559 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 21 Dec (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and a delegation of the Brazilian National Congress had talks on Wednesday and expressed their interest in continuing efforts to secure world peace. The parliamentary delegation is headed by First Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies Paulino Cicero de Vasconcelos.

Oskar Fischer noted that since the establishment of diplomatic relations 10 years ago a solid basis has been created for further political-economic cooperation between the two states. Relations between the GDR and Brazil have vividly demonstrated their usefulness, both for the peoples and the two states and for the preservation of world peace.

The GDR foreign minister informed the Brazilian parliamentarians about the many and varied initiatives of the GDR to preserve the process of detente and to effectively counter the dangers which threaten world peace due to the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

The Brazilian guests paid tribute to the policy of the GDR, which is aimed at the preservation of peace, and expressed their full agreement with its concerns. They affirmed the view that bilateral relations offer room for development to mutual advantage. The delegation will make its recommendations on this to the National Congress.

On the same day, the delegation of parliamentarians visited the historic site of the signing of the Potsdam Treaty in Cecilienhof Castle. The guests ended their visit to the GDR on Thursday.

GDR, BERLIN SENATE REACH AGREEMENT ON S-BAHN

LD211908 Hamburg DPA in German 1547 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 21 Dec (DPA) -- The delegations to the negotiations between the West Berlin Senate and the GDR Reichsbahn have "basically" reached an agreement on the S-Bahn sections in the western part of the city.

After the ninth round of talks a Senate spokesman said on Wednesday that "detailed work" remains to be done, however, at the next meeting this Friday. An initialling of the existing texts of the agreement is not planned for that day.

The talks deal with the West Berlin BVG company's takeover of running the S-Bahn, which to date has been run by the GDR. It is reported that the agreement plans annual payments of DM 9.5 million to the GDR for the use of Reichabahan equipment.

HONECKER GREETS WILLY BRANDT ON BIRTHDAY

LD170851 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0258 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 17 Dec (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today sent to following congratulations message to Willy Brandt, chairman of the SPD, on his 70th birthday.

Dear Herr Brandt.

I congratulate you on your 70th birthday on behalf of the Central Committee of the SED of Germany and send to you my personal greetings. I assure you of your esteem for your endeavors to maintain peace, cooperation between states, and particularly for the establishment of contractual relations between the FRG and the GDR.

May success be achieved in banishing the danger of a worldwide nuclear catastrophe, in defending the results of the policy of detente against a crazy confrontation course, and in the future developing the relationship between both German states with the aim of good-neighborliness.

Let us, who have the experience of many years of political work, make our contribution to provide the next generation with clear signposts in the struggle for peace and progress, so that our children and grandchildren can live in security and happiness.

With best wishes for health and creative energy, E. Honecker

AXEN MEETS WITH PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT EANES

AU211335 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Lisbon -- On Monday General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, president of the Portuguese Republic, received Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, for a talk in Lisbon's Belem palace.

Hermann Axen conveyed the most cordial greetings of the SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, Erich Honecker, which were as cordially reciprocated by Gen Eanes. The talk was marked by mutual understanding and general agreement on the basic questions of peace and security in Europe and the intensification of bilateral relations in all fields.

Hermann Axen called attention to the new situation created by the deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe. Both politicians agreed that the arms race must be stopped and that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence.

The president particularly stressed the necessity and the will to actively expand interstate relations. Both sides expressed hope for a positive approach to the Stockholm conference. President Eanes reciprocated the good wishes of Hermann Axen for Portugal with best wishes for the state leadership and people of the GDR and the hope that 1984 will be a year of peace. Hermann Axen referred to the fact that in the coming year 2 memorial days will be celebrated, the 35th anniversary of the GDR and the 10th anniversary of the Portuguese April Revolution, which are linked by their basic humanistic ideas.

The talk was attended by Castro Mendes, diplomatic adviser to the Portuguese president, and GDR Ambassador Siegfried Kaempf.

HONECKER GREETS PCP'S CUNHAL ON REELECTION

AU211315 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee has sent the following congratulatory telegram signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker to Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the PCP, in Lisbon.

Dear Comrade Alvaro Cunhal:

On the occasion of your reelection as general secretary of the PCP I convey to you the most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings on behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf.

We wish you much success, health, and creative vigor in your responsible work.

SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETS FLN CONGRESS

LD190921 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0700 GMT 19 Dec 83

[Excerpts] The fifth party congress of the Algerian National Liberation Front will open today in Algeria.

In a message of greetings to the congress, signed by Erich Honecker, the SED Central Committee underlined its determination to deepen the productive cooperation between the two parties and peoples. They stand together in one front against the policy of confrontation and arms escalation of the most aggressive imperialist circles.

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH SRV -- A protocol on cooperation between the GDR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Sciences, and the Committee for Social Sciences of Vietnam for 1984-85 was signed in Hanoi. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Dec 83 p 2 AU]

GOODS EXCHANGE PROTOCOL WITH USSR EXPANDS TRADE

LD220022 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] The Hungarian and Soviet foreign trade ministers signed a goods exchange protocol for next year in Moscow, according to which the two countries' trade will approach R9 billion. Geza Foldvari reports:

[Foldvari] Next year Soviet goods will be delivered to our country, and Hungarian goods will be delivered to the Soviet Union to the value of R8.6 billion. It is difficult to even list this reciprocal traffic, it is of such a wide range. In coordination with the broadening and deepening of specialization and cooperation, the two countries are to help each other's industry with a whole series of modern machine-industry products. Cooperation is continuing in the spheres of light and food industry, as well as telecommunications equipment, computers and agricultural machines. On the basis of the vehicle manufacturing agreements that are in effect, the Soviet Union is delivering passenger cars and lorries in substantial quantities; our country is delivering buses, parts and components.

The Soviet Union continues to play a decisive role in our country's supply of fuels, raw materials and energy sources -- here I am thinking of crude oil, natural gas, coal, coke, iron ore, black and colored metals, wood materials, and, for example, cotton. Apart from this, Hungarian enterprises are taking part in the reconstruction and modernization in various types of large Soviet plants, such as the (Likino) bus factory and a series of light and food industry plants. Cooperation in the agricultural-industrial branch is expanding. We are delivering chicken-breeding and livestock-breeding complexes and pesticides of great effectiveness, while artificial fertilizer and other chemical materials are arriving in our country from the Soviet Union. Hungarian fruit, canned fruit, wine and poultry continue to be counted on in the Soviet Union. The mutal exchange of articles for consumption is continuing. We give ready-made clothes and knitwear, shoes, textiles, furniture and medicines; we receive from the Soviet Union refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, sewing and washing machines, clocks and cameras.

By the way, it was said at the signing that the government-level delegations also agreed during the preparation of the protocol that henceforth they will seek a method of further expanding mutual goods exchange, which in 1984, as I mentioned at the beginning of my report, is to exceed R8.6 billion.

GASPAR LECTURE ON TRADE UNION ROLE UNDER SOCIALISM

AU210751 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Dec 83 pp 3-4

[Text] Sandor Gaspar, member of the MSZMP Politburo and president of the National Trade Union Council, gave a lecture, entitled "The Trade Unions in the Work of Socialist Construction," at the Political Academy of the MSZMP Central Committee on 14 December. We review here the material of the lecture which will be published also by the Kossuth book publishing enterprise.

The MSZMP Central Committee recently discussed the party's trade union policy and adopted a statement on the development of trade union work and the party's tasks. The Central Committee's statement realistically examines the trade union's role, activity, and tasks. It stresses that the activity of the Hungarian trade unions has undergone great changes in the past decades, and it highly values the fact that it has become richer and includes qualitatively new features.

The movement possesses political and legal possibilities that provide a good foundation for it to be able to fulfill the increasing requirements. It is an important factor in social life, and its work is specific and indispensable. It is a participant in power, and it not only helps in the execution of policy but also participates in its development as well. In matters of principle and in the detailed aspects of subjects, no decisions are made either at a nationwide or factory level without listening to and considering the trade unions' views.

Following the defeat of the counterrevolution, the MSZMP drew the necessary lessons -- as in other areas of life -- with regard to trade union activity as well: Correcting the previous distortions, in a struggle on two fronts against dogmatism and revisionism, it developed its position and practice concerning the trade unions on the basis of Leninist principles.

Commitment and Autonomy

The MSZMP's policy proceeds from the fundamental realization -- one that has been fully substantiated in the meantime -- that our socialist objectives can be attained only with the agreement and active cooperation of the broad masses of the working people. It is indispensable for the party for its policy to be understood, accepted, and implemented by the millions of people in the trade unions. This is of decisive significance from the viewpoint of the party's relations with the masses, the mass base of the people's power. Under socialism, the trade unions are the most comprehensive organizations of the workers class in power, and the working people living on wages and salaries, and they are committed to the cause of socialism. Their commitment is based on the fact that the universal and individual interests of the working people can prevail only in a socialist society.

The backbone of the party's trade union policy is the principle according which the trade unions, in fulfilling their specific tasks, operate within the political system of socialism, and this requires that they be autonomous as appropriate. It is indispensable for the trade unions to have a clear autonomous position and opinion on highly important issues of social life. In this way they fulfill an important role not only in the elaboration and implementation of the policy of socialist construction, but also in the creation and preservation of social accord, which is indispensable for socialism.

The autonomy of the trade unions does not mean that they are independent of the power of the party and the workers class. The movement consciously accepts the policy of the party -- the leading force of the socialist society -- and actively participates in its development and implementation. As for forming policy, the trade unions can participate in it mainly by learning their members' interests, requirements, and views and by expressing them, and at the same time mobilizing their members for the accomplishment of the tasks of socialist construction. They pursue their activity by their means as a movement, the work of persuasion of several hundred thousand activists and functionaries. Through their constant close contact, they ensure the participation of the masses, wage and salary-earners, and the workers class in the shaping of their own destiny, in exercising power, and in realizing social control.

In its statement, the Central Committee reaffirmed the proven principles of trade union work and, at the same time, considered as necessary a further development of practice. Our party proceeded from the fact that the role of the trade unions in our society is increasing. The Central Committee statement has set the movement the tasks of strengthening and safeguarding workers power, the socialist system. It should mobilize the trade unions' members for augmenting the political and economic strength of our society. It should represent the interests of the working people and protect their rights laid down in laws and decrees. Fulfilling their multi-faceted educational role as well remains an important task of the trade unions.

In the Central Committee's view the various functions of the trade unions form an integral entity and, thus, can prevail only in harmony with each other. Therefore, trade union activity in the protection of interests is based on a better accomplishment of production tasks. Active participation in socialist construction work is the collateral for the exercising of rights.

Trade union activity develops together with our society. It reflects the tasks facing our country and the changed circumstances of the socioeconomic situation and the possibilities and limitations arising from them.

Dispute on Independence

While trade union activity in our country is developing in accordance with these correct principles, on an international scale, the dispute about the nature of the role played by the trade unions in the conditions of a socialist society is still not abating today; on the contrary, it has grown brisker lately. For instance, many people find it incomprehensible that the socialist trade unions cooperate with the state. Those who adopt this outlook demand an explanation concerning the independence of trade unions.

It is justifiable and understandable that the trade union movement proclaims its independence from the state and parties and intends to assert this independence in the capitalist countries. In this context, the slogan of complete independence means that the trade unions want to preserve the freedom of action of the workers class and the working people vis-a-vis the capitalist system. Under socialism, however, the trade unions could assert their complete independence only vis-a-vis the socialist state and the communist party. Still, the communist party and the workers state are working for the realization of objectives that are identical with trade union aspirations. Under these circumstances, what would trade union independence mean? Should they perhaps refuse to participate in decisionmaking and the active conduct and supervision of the affairs of society? Should they renounce cooperation with the rest of the socialist forces and the broad masses? Should they relinquish having a say from the inside, directly, in the conduct of matters, instead of through criticism from the outside? All that would be radically at variance with our professed principles on the role of the trade unions and the interests of the masses represented by the trade unions.

Under capitalism, the oppositional stance of the trade unions is necessary. If the character of power changes, becomes a socialist one, then the trade union cannot retain its oppositional stance as a self-centered aim at any price, because, in so doing, it would turn against its own class, which, through the socialist revolution, has become the possessor of power. The trade unions do not participate in the building of a socialist society and the exercise of power as outsiders, but as partners.

The trade unions of the socialist countries are often criticized with the argument that the picture presented of our countries' movements is an unproblematic one. It is true that, frequently, we cannot present ourselves, our life, and our work realistically. This is our fault, because the life of the movement is not undisturbed and devoid of conflicts in the socialist countries either, where the trade unions' commitment is not characterized by an undiscriminating relationship with the leading forces of society and the state institutions. A difference of views and disagreement between the state and the trade unions are possible and even necessary, because it is during disputes that good solutions develop. We are convinced that, strictly adhering to bases of principle, the trade unions should go as far as to an open conflict, if necessary, when they feel that their position serves a better, more effective, and more fair-minded implementation of our policy.

The militant forms for the trade unions' protection of interests that have developed under capitalism -- for instance, boycotts and strikes as militant methods that have proven to be generally applicable and useful -- are harmful under socialist conditions. Therefore, forms of activity conducted to assert interests which stave off a confrontation come to the fore: a competent assessment of interests, their appropriate representation, and a recognition and creation of the prerequisites for fulfilling them.

Interests Should Be Protected With the Necessary Courage

It is becoming more and more obvious today that the key point of the role and effectiveness of trade unions is their function as an autonomous movement. The events in Poland provide a lesson that cannot be disregarded in this respect.

In the socialist countries, the working people accept only autonomous organizations as substantive ones, organizations that have a "countenance," that is, views and proposals, organizations that act with initiative on issues of importance for the working people.

The independence of trade unions constitutes one of the most complex problems in the practical function of our political system even today. Independence is only seemingly a trade union interest. In reality, the socialist system, its effective and normal function, is at issue. Accord must be indisputable with regard to great social objectives. However, this is not inconsistent with disputes that arise during the attainment of objectives.

It must be admitted that the assertion of trade union autonomy frequently comes up against specific internal obstacles: the working style that has been developed by the trade unions. Also, we encounter a lack of self-confidence in some cases.

The protection of interests remains a specific function of the trade unions. In the eyes of the workers class, it is primarily the protection of interests that justifies the existence of the trade unions even today. This outstandingly important role of the movement arises from the fact that the trade unions sense most directly the specifically voiced interests of the workers class.

We know that, under socialism, it is not only the trade unions that fulfill the role of protecting interests in a narrow and broader sense, but state organs, legal regulation, the party, and even employment organizations. This is the reason for the fact that some people frequently regard trade union steps aimed at the assertion of interests as a sign of mistrust.

The Polish crisis, the 1956 events in Hungary before it, and other examples as well vividly prove what a high price we must pay for a normal functioning of the organizations performing the protection of interests, the feedback process, and social supervision.

The trade unions must have the necessary courage to let various interests clash at open discussions with the working people. They must present their views on what they regard as a solution for differences of interests and clashing interests in a manner that also makes allowances for objectives of the people's economy. However, this cannot be done without disputes. Society's interests cannot suitably prevail if we cannot link them to the interests of groups and strata, because social interests "in themselves," completely independent from group and individual interests, do not exist.

Nor must the trade unions yield to pressures that could orient them toward demagogy. They must always remain on the plane of the realities. Of course, the danger of demagogy is present at any time and in any situation. Nevertheless, it is not this that constitutes the greatest danger today. It is a much greater problem: There are trade union functionaries who resign themselves too easily to the fact that, in some cases, their enterprise, or economic partners reject proposals with reference to unfounded arguments. One must not reconcile oneself to this. The measures affecting the development of the living standard also prove that the working people accept many things with understanding and see the position of their enterprise and the country soberly. However, they do not accept when, locally, everything is attributed to the world economic crisis; when there is no warm water nor cleanliness in the baths, or the food in the kitchen tastes bad, or they do not receive a reply to their notifications, when local affairs concerning wages and social issues are badly dealt with. The difficult situation must not be an excuse for everything.

The protection of interests must never mean a mere posing of demands. We must also undertake to seek the means for a solution and to help develop the prerequisites for one, because it is possible to provide more only from that which we have created ourselves. We must not regard activity in protecting interests in such a way that it is good only when we represent all claims with appropriate force. Nor can appraisal be based on the question of whether we can satisfy every request. Such trade union activity has never existed and it never can.

Cooperation With the Government

Cooperation between the trade unions and state and economic organs is a natural manifestation of our socialist society. However, we must realize that this cooperation is not easy for either side. Each side participates in it with the responsibility consequent of its mission, with its own features, and with its system of institutions, and they must help and criticize each other in a manner that the other side accepts and understands, and at the same time, neither side should lose its autonomy.

Consultations between industrial sector trade unions and ministers, as well as county, state, and trade union leaders, and discussions between directors and trade union secretaries are highly significant in this cooperation. The trade unions must indicate what the requirements are and confer with state and economic leaders in the interests of the working people. Still, they must also help create the prerequisites for resolving matters.

Frequently, the trade unions grasp more directly the requirements of the working people, but the government is more aware of the possibilities. The socialist state does not oversee the activity of the trade unions, but state activity is under the supervision of the people, of the masses. The trade unions actively participate in this social supervision.

Separate mention must be made of regular consultations between the government and leaders of the National Trade Union Council, which have been held each year for 2 decades. The practice of a representative of the National Trade Union Council regularly participating in government sessions has also proven correct. These meetings do not always take place in a spirit of complete agreement. In disputes, we mutually serve the cause of the working people, of society. This is a very valuable practice that is of benefit to the work of socialist construction. It is to be desired also that cooperation between industrial sector and regional trade union organs and ministries, major authorities, and councils should become more regular and systematic. The trade unions regard this joint work as correct and very useful. However, greater attention than heretofore should be devoted to discussions and coordinating activity preceding political decisions.

It is important that the trade unions represent the interests of the working people not only by simply acknowledging the possibilities offered by the state, but also by calculating them themselves and revealing additional tasks. They should rely on the experience of their members, let them develop their own views. Let them dare to consider whether better answers would be possible than the recommendations of state organs. The trade union movement cannot accept any view as irrevocable from the beginning, but it must not regard itself as infallible, either.

The Scope and Role of Party Guidance

In some places, the prevalence of correct methods in the party's guidance of the trade unions is still hampered by erroneous views today. Occasionally, the initiatives of trade unions and their assertion of their competence are erroneously regarded as a politically and legally unsupported "independent endeavor." Some party organizations assign themselves a decisive role from the beginning on all major issues and, by so doing -- as it were -- "take the breath away" from the trade unions.

The Central Committee statement correctly declares: The party struggles for acceptance of its policy also in the trade unions, but not by diktats. It does so by arguments and persuasion. This is not understood in some places.

The party's work in guidance is indispensable for the trade unions, and it rests on principles that have proved their viability and valuable effect in the party's practice over more than a quarter century. At issue is primarily the fact that the party asserts its policy in the trade unions by political and ideological means. The party asserts its guiding role through the communists working in the trade unions, through their above-average standard of work. It follows from this that trade union functionaries and bodies represent their own members and are responsible to them for their activity. At the same time, the support and help of party organs are indispensable for the trade unions for the accomplishment of their tasks. They should carry this out in such a way as to avoid intervention when it comes to details, yet adopt a position on every essential issue of a political nature that affects the trade unions. The party wants to learn the experiences and views of the trade union movement and, through them, those of the working people.

In the present phase of our socialist construction, it is obvious that many things will have to be reconsidered in trade union activity as well. The questions raised by the present situation -- basic principles are to be retained -- should be answered in a new manner in practical work.

First of all, we must clearly realize that the trade unions have specific tasks in aiding socialist development and construction that cannot be fulfilled by other organs. They must be thoroughly familiar with and able to express the working people's aspirations and intentions concerning socialist construction. A resolute, frank, critical, and transparent trade union stance is needed on fundamental social problems and fundamental tasks. This can bring prestige and credibility to the trade unions among the working people.

The factors shaping the living and working conditions of the working people have become decisive today, but the possibilities of the direct employer to resolve problems concerning wages and social problems are limited to a very narrow area at the moment. If the work of trade union organs is of a low standard in this situation, then the working people face the economic leadership entrenched behind the protective shield of social interests largely as individuals. This may be accompanied by the shortcoming that the direct participation of the working people at places of work is largely a declared principle rather than real practice.

Speaking on behalf of the working people, we frequently entrust too little to the masses themselves. Greater scope should be given to coordinating activity and disputes over interests to ensure a development of political work around them. Workplace democracy does not yet permeate everyday life in the present phase of our socialist development, for mere participation does not yet mean a developed workplace democracy. Democracy is

one of the important areas of our activity in expressing and, at the same time, asserting interests. This makes the development of workplace democracy tremendously significant from the viewpoint of trade union work.

The traditional forms of the organization, evaluation, and content of work competitions cannot always be applied in the present economic situation. The economic and social objectives of the present period are more complex, and by now we expect activity in production, and expansion of democracy, a development of social awareness, and an enrichment of vocational and general education all together from those who participate in work competitions. We should strive to ensure that workplace collectives have greater responsibility and more say with regard to the material and moral recognition of the work and attitude of individuals.

The Increased Competence Should Be Used

It is a weakness of the trade unions that, on the one hand -- because of shortcomings in socialization -- they do not rely sufficiently on the hundreds of thousands of activists and, on the other hand, the activeness of members also fluctuates somewhat and becomes more brisk mostly though stimulation from above. For more than quarter century, we have been performing our work under consolidated conditions and, therefore, there is a danger that our working method becomes formal and that we attend to our task in a routine manner. There is also the danger that our activity is not directed at the accomplishment of tasks, but at procedures and the retention of habits.

Parallel with the development of economic management, the tasks and functions of the trade unions also change. The independence of enterprise management will increase. The task of the leading trade union organs is to stimulate the development of economic management and, to work, along with this, on elaborating the trade unions' changed role and function at places of work.

In the future great attention will have to be paid to the life of basic organizations and the development of the work of meetings of members and trade union officials in particular. It will be necessary to take advantage of the possibilities that arise from the officials' increased legal competence and range of function, as well as responsibility. The substantial part of trade union work is shifting to the officials and bodies of officials. Dealing with individuals, the work competitions, differentiated wages, discipline, responsibility, and political maturity are coming to the fore.

PEACE COUNCIL OFFICIAL ON PROTEST MOVEMENT

AU2111127 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 18 Dec 83 p 3

[Statement by Barna Sarkadi Nagy, secretary general of the National Peace Council: "Preventing a Nuclear Clash Is the Purpose of the Peace Movement"]

[Text] Now that the United States has begun deploying intermediate-range missiles in West Europe, there has been a proliferation of questions about the future of the international peace movement.

Endangering the unity that seemed to have been developing recently, ideas advocating a hopelessness of continued struggle have found an echo in certain circles. Barna Sarkadi Nagy, secretary general of the National Peace Council, has made a statement to an MTI staff member in this connection: "One battle of the international peace movement has been undoubtedly lost, but I think that the final outcome of the struggle has by no means been decided yet. Our task remains to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear conflict. Although the events of the past weeks have set back the peace movements somewhat, we witness and hear day after day that, with renewed force, hundreds of thousands of people are protesting once more to prevent the 'last contagion' threatening mankind, a nuclear war. In West Europe, protests are a daily occurrence and thousands of people are arrested for daring to take the responsibility for their best convictions. The need to save this world and the achievements of civilization.

"The deployments have begun, and this is a fact we must face up to. It is true that we have not had -- could not have had -- any illusions previously, either. We knew that imperialist circles strove to upset the genuine balance of power that has developed. As they intensified their efforts to attain their goal and divide our ranks, they had to realize that people have an entirely different view on the world and on possibilities for resolving the problems. On innumerable occasions, sober-minded politicians declared that there is no rational alternative to negotiations, that disagreements must be settled in open and frank debates that reconcile mutual interests. However, the United States has never taken the Geneva dialogue seriously: it strove and is striving for a world hegemonic role. It is because of this that it intervenes in the domestic affairs of a number of countries even geographically far away from it and violates their sovereignty.

"Commensurate with our strength and means, we, activists of the Hungarian peace movement, have been supporting the movements struggling against imperialism and for social progress and urging cooperation with them. Our intensions have been largely fulfilled: We have found a platform for drawing close to organizations with which, for some reason or another, we had not succeeded in doing so before. Also at home, the question is being posed what individuals can do now, in this new situation. And the answer is: the same as before. One must avail himself of every opportunity to protest and propagate that we do not want war and are prepared to protect our achievements.

"At our meetings and forums staged throughout the country in recent days, a great many young and older people, men and women, and workers and intellectuals pledged their support for the cause of peace. At the same time, they deemed the countersteps of the Warsaw Pact countries necessary and unavoidable and approved the planned measures. By now, hundreds of thousands of people have signed the appeal we issued in conjunction with KISZ, proving also in this way that millions of people trust the Hungarian peace policy and the peace movement. For this very reason, we will create numerous opportunities in the near future as well for our people to express their unabated will to live in peace, protest against the menacing dangers, and make their voices heard in favor of settling disputed issues through negotiations, " Barna Sarkadi Nagy concluded his statement.

FOREIGN TOURIST REGULATIONS MODIFIED

LD211916 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Foreign tourists' entry into Hungary has been made easier. The new measures make it possible for visitors who come to our country for private purposes henceforth to receive a Hungarian visa which will be valid for 3 months and will entitle a person to enter several times. As a member of a group sent by an Austrian travel agency, any Austrian citizen can spend 2 days in our country without a visa. Children under 14 years of age will also be permitted to enter without visas in the future. French tourists can cross the Hungarian border with their identity cards instead of passports, provided their visit is organized by a Hungarian or French travel agency. The obligation of foreign citizens to give notification of their departure has been stopped. According to this, until the expiration of the residence permit, foreigners can stay in our country without restriction, and they can also leave without any special formality.

SEJM SESSION HELD 21 DEC; TO RECONVENE 29 DEC

Gucwa Opens Session

LD211254 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Excerpts] Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, are present at the Sejm hall in Wiejska Street. The deliberations were opened by Sejm Speaker Stanislaw Gucwa who presented the agenda of today's session. Sejm Speaker Gucwa informed the deputies that the official delegation of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union with Vitaliy Ruben, the chairman of the Council of Nationalities, is attending today's deliberations. Subsequently the deputies' debate started.

Deputy Lukasz Balcer presented a report of the Commissions for Self-Management of Employees, Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and Legislative Work on the draft law bringing about amendments to certain laws that introduced economic reform. The speaker stressed that the proposed amendments do not mean deviating from the fundamental principles and provisions of the reform but concern certain executive instruments and are dictated by the necessity of adapting the economic mechanisms of the reform to the current difficult conditions of its implementation. As a result of the Sejm's work in which opinions and conclusions of the broad public discussion have been taken into account, it is proposed to bring many amendments to the govenrment proposal. One of the most essential elements of the amendments to the reform functioning are amendments that concern the economic and financial system of enterprises, including the principles of taxing. The deputy proposed that the bill, amending certain laws which introduced the economic reform, be passed.

Then a deputies discussion on the presented report started. Speaking on behalf of the PZPR Parliamentary Club, Deputy Jerzy Nawrocki said that the reform has become an indisputable fact that is at present one of the foundations of our economy. The experience of the preceding period in the functioning of the reform makes it possible to define its further directions. The proposed amendments ought to thus serve increasing the effectiveness of management; they ought to improve the conditions of the implementation of the tasks by the enterprises. The deputy said that the law on amendments to certain laws that introduced the economic reform ought to be supplemented with other legal acts to create a comprehensive system of legal foundations for the functioning of the economy during the ensuing years. The PZPR Parliamentary Club, the deputy said in the winding up, is supporting the bill.

Tadeusz Maj, on behalf of the ZSL parliamentary club, presented the party's attitude and comments on the government bill. It is the main aim of the socioeconomic policy this year and next to effectively the fight against increase inflation. It is thus necessary to increase market production and to create a definite link between the population's remuneration and supplies' of goods and services on the market. The deputy deemed the regulation of the principles of establishing prices while observing the requirements of the reform as an important issue, too. He drew attention to the necessity of introducing preferential treatement in taxing enterprises of food economy.

Speaking on behalf of the SD, Deputy Jerzy Jozwiak stressed that the systematic solutions of the reform concentrate primarily on industry, including the largest enterprises. The process marking a lack of balanced economy and inflation, which are discernible, arises to a considerable extent from irregularities of market processes. An improved market situation will not be achieved without a consistent economic policy, the speaker stressed. The reform needs a system of market policy, a set of measures aiming at reaching and maintaining in the future the market of the buyer.

Further on Session

LD212302 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Excerpt] On behalf of Sejm commissions, Deputy Lukasz Balcer presented proposed changes aimed at further improving certain mechanisms of the reform. He suggested that the relief in the new version of income tax proposed by the government be extended. As of January it will have a linear and not graduated character. Enterprises whose share of income tax in porfit due for 1983 does not exceed 45 percent will pay lower income tax. Deputy Balcer also proposed an amendment to the law on prices, financial management of state enterprises, and socioeconomic planning. The government is authorized, among other things, to impose on state enterprises the duty to award contracts by tenders for services and work carried out by nonsocialized economy. The regulation does not cover the obligation to invite tenders for minor work and services. It is difficult to talk here about every detail of this law. It speaks, among other things, about the division of depreciation between enterprises and the state budget and the principles of financing voluntary associations from the profits of enterprises. The details will be published in tomorrow's press.

Marian Renke, chairman of the main committee for physical culture and sport, presented the government bill on physical culture. One of the most important characteristics of this bill is the introduction of the legislative obligation to run physical education classes in nursery schools, schools, higher education establishments, military units and units subordinated to the minister of internal affairs. Justifying the need for such a law to be adopted, Marian Renke said that physical culture is an area in which only fragmentary or provisional regulations are in force. Meanwhile, issues pertaining to physical culture, broadly conceived, are among the factors that are decisive in the overall development of man and health prevention of the whole of the community. The bill has been submitted to Sejm commissions for a thorough analysis.

Session Ends

LD211541 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Excerpts] The 44th session of the Sejm came to an end several minutes ago. Written and oral questions of the deputies ended the deliberations. A discussion on the government bill on physical culture presented by Marian Renke, chairman of the main committee of physical culture, was held. After the discussion the Sejm referred the bill on physical culture to the relevant Sejm commissions. The Sejm session has come to an end. The next one, the 45th session, will take place on 29 December.

PZPR COMMISSION ON MISSILES, DISARMAMENT

LD211917 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw 21 Dec -- The PUWP CC International Commission held a meeting in Warsaw today. The meeting was presided over by PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski. Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Wiejacz delivered a report on the questions of European security, struggle for detente and disarmament, while Deputy PUWP CC Foreign Department head Miroslaw Dackiewicz presented a report on peace movements in the West and in the socialist states. Members of the commission voiced their concern over the rise in international tensions threatening security and peace in Europe and the world.

The confrontative and adventurous political line which the Reagan administration and its closest allies try to impose on the world creates a tangible danger to all states. In the present situation, the arms race devours material means which could be allocated for the solution of the basic socio-economic problems of the contemporary world. It also creates a qualitatively new danger -- unknown in the previous epochs -- of a military conflict involving the use of nuclear weapons which would mean a cataclysm threatening the entire mankind.

Especially dangerous is deployment of new generation of American nuclear weapons of the so-called intermediate-range -- started a few weeks ago in Europe on the territory of: the FRG, Britain and Italy -- targeted at the Soviet Union, Poland and other Warsaw Treaty states. Such conduct is tantamount to an attempt to gain military supremacy over the socialist states designed to serve as an instrument for the U.S. return to the policy of dictate which is incompatible with the provisions of the U.N. Charter, the CSCE Final Act and many other international agreements.

Polnad has declared her full support for the implementation of indispensable defensive counter-measures announced by the governments of the USSR, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the German Democratic Republic to preserve the existing balance of forces, which constitutes the foundations of European security. The counter-measures should help sober down the political forces in the U.S. and NATO which are responsible for the present growth of tension.

Socialist states call for the comeback onto the road of a matter-of-fact dialogue as the only rational method of settling international contradictions and disputes, the dialogue that would respect basic and common good of the entire mankind, that is peace, security and international cooperation. The declaration by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states of January 5, 1983, the statement by leaders of the European socialist states of June 28, 1983, statements by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yuriy Andropov of September 28 and November 24, 1983, constitute a constructive basis for this dialogue. They express the Leninist policy of peace and cooperation which will remain the leading foreign policy line of the socialist states.

A conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe to start in Stockholm the coming January assumes a considerable significance against the background of the present, aggravated international situation. The conference will be convened on the initiative of socialist tates, on the ground of the decision included in the document adopted at the conclusion of the Madrid CSCE meeting.

The discussants also stressed that the start of the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe has highlighted the role of peaceful and anti-war mass movements in the world. It is necessary to further develop our cooperation with all the forced world-wide that come out in favour of peace and disarmament. Against this background, the participants put emphasis on the constructive meaning of social meetings, like the Polish-FRG round table ones.

A strong voice in the defence of peace and against new armaments that are forced by imperialism is sounded by broad circles of Polish society.

The committee highly evaluated the fact that in the course of the present report-and-election campaign and as a reply to the PUWP Central Committee's appeal on the issues of peace, adopted at the 13th plenary meeting, numerous party organizations in enterprises adopt resolutions, declarations and appeals in the defence of threatened peace.

PAWLOWSKA ON SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF MARTIAL LAW

AU191528 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Dec 83 p 1

[Anna Pawlowska commentary: "An Opportunity That Was Taken Advantage Of"]

[Text] It is exactly 2 years since martial law was imposed in Poland in accordance with our constitutional order; however, in a few days time, it will also be 5 months since it was lifted. So, are there any grounds for making a return to this closed historical fact worthwhile?

There are, and they have nothing to do with the fact that the date of its imposition is recalled every month by the political underground, which uses the wavebands of Radio Free Europe to express itself, or with the thesis that the same radio station transmits daily for several hours about the persistance of martial law as an inherent part of contemporary Polish life.

I do not think it is so essential to recall once more why it was necessary to stop the stealthy approach of the counterrevolution by force or explain what we avoided thanks to martial law. Quite enough has been said and written on this subject and quite enough time has gone by to allow each of us with even the smallest amount of goodwill at his disposal to think over all these matters for himself. Those who have not managed to comprehend the dramatic necessity of that night of 12 to 13 December 1981 have also not only completely failed to understand the significance of our last 3 years, but also the harsh logic of today's world.

The speculation voiced at home and abroad that preceded that December night was based on the conviction that the party and the socialist state are too weak to on the opponent, who was prepared for a confrontation single-handed, while society was tangled up in a mood of antisocialism. Both parts of this argument proved wrong -- fortunately, for Poland and perhaps for the world.

When the hope of Polish civil war was shattered after the morning of 13 December and during the days and weeks that followed it, anticommunist centers dreamed up another more far-reaching forecast: that martial law would at least turn Poland away from the road mapped out for it by the Ninth PZPR Congress; that it would destroy the seeds of the democratic reform and would change the party's wish for accord and dialogue into the desire for revenge. It would be then that society, which will be additionally beset by the economic sanctions that were immediately introduced by the West, would turn against the party and against "unreformable [niereformowalny] socialism." This forecast has also been proven wrong during the last 2 years -- fortunately for Poland and socialism.

Step by step, without stopping or dawdling, we are progressing along the same road. The party of the workers' class is being organizationally consolidated on this road and is developing its ideological identify, is gradually rediscovering the sense behind and the flavor of the hard and honest work that is performed daily by thousands of working people, and is continuing all the democratic reforms as well as slowly overcoming life's worst troubles.

It is true that the majority of the positive changes have only just been started. However, the party not only avoided growing isolation as a result of 13 December, it suddenly started to rediscover its ties with many social sectors. The "tortoise" slogan that was so stubbornly repeated won no more than the response of some individuals while production is growing, although at a slow pace. We wait in lines, we worry about price hikes, but no longer do we see empty shelves in all the shops. Today, there are few political prisoners and the time since that December has been marked by immediate annulment [abolicja], the speedy release of internees, and then by the amnesty and its extension to a later date.

Some 2 years after the imposition and 5 months after the lifting of martial law we are preparing ourselves for the election of primary level representative bodies.

Those who made the December 1981 decision and those who gave it moral and political support never said that martial law could automatically solve the country's thousands of problems the very day it was imposed or in the near future. Martial law could not multiply our coal or bread production, could not soothe the people's minds or bring people who had become very different closer together. Martial law bridled the opponent but could not overcome him politically, it could only provide the basic conditions for all this and give it an opportunity to happen. At the time, this was not a small achievement, but a great and almost unimaginably big achievement.

Life for us continues to be difficult and, what is more, today we can see more clearly that it will, unfortunately, take a long time to overcome these difficulties and that any progress we make in production, in our daily standard of living, in coming closer to justice, or in the functioning of the administration will be won through hard work. We can see that the past management mistakes that were made are offering greater resistance to us in solving them than was anticipated, as is our economic dependence on the capitalist world, the old and the newer distortions in the social consciousness, and the habits that we abandoned years ago and reappear on the fringes of the struggle against the crisis. We can also see that there is no legal act that can manage to really motivate the mechanisms of the economic reform, self-government, or the activeness of the citizens just by itself.

The opportunity that we created for ourselves 2 years ago -- by the people for the sake of the supreme good of all the people, by a society that was capable of showing consideration at the time of a dramatic test, and by authorities who were capable of courage and responsibility -- certainly was not wasted, for it is enough to realize that it has only been 2 years since martial law was imposed.

It was not easy for anyone to take this or that opportunity at the time. No one could guarantee with his hand on his heart that the high hopes that were being connected with this opportunity would come true. Today, one can honestly say, without conceit, self-appeasement, or absolving oneself from responsibility for the mistakes and failures we had, that this opportunity stood the test.

And this is exactly, I believe, the basic reason why it is worth our remembering the date 13 December 1981.

'SECRET' DOCUMENT CITES INTRAPARTY TENSION

PM201048 Paris LE FIGARO in French 16 Dec 83 p 5

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland: Increased Tension Between Army and 'Hard-Liners'"]

[Text] Warsaw -- Thirteen years ago, on 16 December 1970, Poland experienced a terrible tragedy: Mr Kociolek, then a member of the Politburo and now ambassador to Moscow, made a television appeal to striking workers to return to work, while Mr Kliszko gave the order to open fire on all those trying to enter the shipyards, as a result of which several dozen workers were killed by the forces of order. On 16 December 1981, Solidarity and the government jointly unveiled the Gdansk monument erected in their memory.

What will happen this year? Solidarity's clandestine Provisional Coordinating Committee has called for peaceful demonstrations throughout the country, whereas Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski condemned those tempted to exploit the painful memory of 1970 for political ends. Indeed it seems certain that there will be some demonstrations, but it would be surprising if they reached such a scale that they could change the situation in Poland.

Nonetheless, the incidents that will probably occur will supply fresh food for the factional struggle within the party. Yesterday was the 35th anniversary of the amalgamation of the Workers Party, in other words the Communist Party, and the Socialist Party, which formed the present PZPR but in fact that party is "united" in name alone. The "hard-liners" sometimes express the view that socialist Poland's misfortunes are the result of that merger, inasmuch as the social democratic worm entered the communist fruit at that time. They are probably right, but for entirely different reasons: that disparate party -- a conglomeration of diverse and irreconcilable factions -- is particularly incapable of governing since it is itself ungovernable. The factional struggle at the top is largely responsible for the present crisis: It is this which has led to the political deadlock and to the party's paralysis, making it incapable of adopting the course of reform in time, in 1978 or 1979 for instance, and preventing it even now from having a decisive and effective policy.

From reading a 15-page document, being circulated secretly, we now have additional proof that the present tensions stem from intense conflicts within the party itself. It is written by Colonel Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, General Jaruzelski's adviser, and entitled "What Is the Quarrel About?" The colonel had written an article in favor of reforms which had brought him attacks from many hard-liners. A letter signed K.S. (everybody thought the author was Stanislaw Kociolek, ambassador to Moscow, the same Kociolek who had distinguished himself in Gdansk 13 years ago and who is now leader of the "hard-liners") was even passed round in political circles.

The colonel replies to that today. The "sectarian conservatives" he writes, "present every threat to their position and to old-fashioned methods as a threat to the regime." Thus they are known for their "antireligious feelings, rival moralistic sermons, aversion to class alliances, and a hankering after strong-arm tactics," and so forth.

The colonel thinks that K.S.' diagnoses and interpretations "are striking for their simplicity, not to say their oversimplification." According to K.S. there is in fact no problem: It is necessary to use force and remove all traces of private economy (the peasants, for instance) and break the Church. Stanislaw Kwiatkowski thus compares him to the tailor who "cuts the client according to the cloth." What he dreams of is "the job of inquisitor, accuser, judge, and executioner all at the same time with ideological charisma and infallability in matters of faith." The government's ambassador to Moscow is thus allegedly "an advocate of biblical Marxism."

But Mr Kwiatkowski goes even further. He accuses the spokesman of the "hard-liners" of a "thirst for power" and asks: "Is the aim here an exchange of views or a change in the current leadership team?" He adds: "I am sure that K.S. will not succeed in establishing a division between the reds and the khakis."

As can be seen, the struggle between the apparatus and the army, the struggle between the moderates and the neo-Stanlinists, the struggle between the "centrist" team in office and the power-hungry extremists, has certainly not abated and has now reached its culmination. In these circumstances any new public disturbance could act as a detonator and have unforeseeable results.

BEDNARSKI ARTICLE ON 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF PZPR

AU201228 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski: "The 35th Anniversary of the PZPR -- United for the Future"]

[Excerpts] The Second Congress of the Polish Workers Party and the 28th Congress of the Polish Socialist Party adopted identical resolutions on the unification of the two parties 35 years ago -- on 14 December 1948. A day later the Unification Congress, which put an end to the disruption of the Polish workers movement for more than 50 years and opened a new stage in the development of this movement, began the building of the Warsaw Polytechnical School.

The Unification Congress set up the PZPR, which has inherited the entire history of the Polish workers movement and has continued its best experience and values that serve the workers class, the people, and the socialist state of Poland. The PZPR has also taken over the experience of the international workers movement.

The Unification Congress confirmed the close ties between the development of the Polish peoople and state, on the one hand, and socialism, on the other. This is one of the most important qualities of the PZPR's present political thought. The experience of the years since the Unification Congress have confirmed the truth that socialist construction is based on enduring political foundations created primarily by the leading position of the workers class and by the system of social ties produced by the identification of the basic classes and groups with the main values of the socialist system. Every deviation from the implementation of the worker-peasant alliance and every act of bureaucratic degeneration and so on have undermined the true unity of the working masses and have given room to the adversaries of our system.

Our history continues to confirm the general law of socialism, as was expressed at the Unification Congress, that the workers class needs a party that is organizationally homogeneous and ideologically cohesive -- a vanguard party that is a servant of the people. Without an organizationally strong, ideologically cohesive, and politically united party of its own, the workers class is unable either to forever win political power or to defend it in the process of socialist building.

In every state, Poland included, in which the party has lost its class and vanguard character, has become ideologically confused, and has departed from its social base, crisis situations have developed and even the fate of socialism has been endangered. The experience gained by the PZPR in the past few years has reaffirmed that thesis.

The participants in the Unification Congress -- the veterans of our party -- are still among us. A decisive majority of them have never disappointed the party, have always tackled the most difficult tasks, and have been ideologically minded and righteous. It is our aim to ensure that the ideals they have served for 35 years are a universal feature of our party.

The Unification Congress in December 1948, which produced the political unification for the Polish workers movement on the platform of Marxism-Leninism, was from its very beginning subjected to aggressive criticism on the part of the adversaries of the workers class and the external and internal adversaries of socialist Poland. The achievements of that congress -- the PZPR and the program for socialist building in Poland -- are also being attacked now. Counting on our party's naivete and its lack of knowledge and, often, of experience of the period of sharp class struggles and proclaiming demagogical slogans, false friends of the workers class are trying to slander the party, our state, and our alliances by every possible means.

Our response to that is and always will be a consistent implementation of the program for the socialist reform of the state and the economy, the strengthening of ties with the workers class and the working people, and the struggle against the counterrevolutionary activities of the adversaries of socialism -- activities that are at odds with the interests of the workers class and the people. The Ninth PZPR Congress laid down this political line, which is a line of accord and struggle, as well as socialist renewal. The line of the ninth party congress is and will always be a permanent directive of our activities.

The statement made by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski that "the PZPR is the same, but not the same" illustrates the nature of the changes made in the PZPR by the ninth congress and by the subsequent Central Committee plenums. Our party is the same because it is a workers' party, a Marxist-Leninist party, and a Polish party. It is a party that is loyal to its internationalist traditions and to its alliances with the CPSU, the parties of the countries of the socialist community, the international communist and workers movement, and with the forces of peace and progress in the world. It is not the same party because it has drawn and continues to draw all the lessons from the errors that are asserting themselves in the process of socialist building. It is turning back to its sources and has restored and is guarding the Leninist norms of party life and the principles of socialist democracy in the entire political system. Together with its allies it has begun the great task of reforms in every sphere of political, social, and economic life and continues to give lie in practice to the assertions of the opponents of socialism that the socialist system is unable to reform itself. It also continues to exploit and observe the universal principles of socialist building. At the same time it has promoted the need to make allowances for national conditions to the rank of a programmatic principle.

Today, while solving the problems of our national and social existence, we are faced with the difficult need to relate our current requirements to long-term strategic problems. In solving these problems we are guided by the experience we gained at the time when the idea of unifying the workers movement was maturing and when the strategy of Poland's socialist development was our fundamental strategy. Comrade W. Jaruzelski spoke about this when he summed up the 14th Central Committee Plenum. "The so-called Polish specific conditions are to a great extent illustrated by the acute conflict between the current problems of the next few years and the problems of the coming decades. Once before -- in the second half of the forties -- we were faced with a similar conflict of aims. That conflict was solved in terms of history: Poland achieved an accelerated advance in industry, civilization, and culture along the road to socialism. It strengthened its international position and embarked upon the trail of historical success, we can say."

The fact that after years of disruption the Polish workers movement became united was a historical achievement along the road to socialism. The political unity of the workers class has been and continues to be the basic condition for the success of socialist building in our country. That is why it is with respect and seriousness that we are now reaching for the lessons and values contained in the experience of 35 years ago.

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES EDITORS, SCIENTISTS

TRYBUNA LUDU Anniversary Speech

AU201402 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 83 pp 1-2

[Speech by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and premier, at the 15 December Warsaw meeting with TRYBUNA LUDU editors and party members to mark the 35th anniversary of TRYBUNA LUDU]

[Text] First of all, W. Jaruzelski said, I would like to thank the comrades for inviting me to this meeting, which is being held on a day that is so important for the

entire party -- on the 35th anniversary of the Unification Congress. This anniversary has coincided with the anniversary of TRYBUNA LUDU. That is why I ask you to allow me on this occasion to extend on behalf of the Politburo the most cordial congratulations and best wishes to the editorial team of our party press organ. But most of all allow me to offer cordial thanks to you and to all the generations of TRYBUNA LUDU journalists for the selfless service to the party and socialist Poland.

All anniversaries are occasions for appropriate speeches and evaluations, which, by the nature of things, adhere to certain conventions. That is why I would not like to make such a speech. TRYBUNA LUDU and the times in which it functions provide no reason why only a conventional speech should be made. It is enough to take a look at the entire road traversed by your daily: TRYBUNA LUDU was and is a faithful companion of our party -- its voice and its weapon. During the 35 years of its history TRYBUNA LUDU has experienced periods of triumph and glory and periods that were not so glorious.

However, it has never experienced any decline. Actually, the past few years have been a period of glory. I am saying this not because of your festive anniversary mood and not because the situation is still below its best. After all, you yourselves have spoken of various weaknesses. Such self-criticism is healthy and correct. There is no doubt that we will need still more aggressive and militant publications, especially those that refer to the subjects of the 13th Central Committee Plenum, keenly cross swords with various nebulous views and theories, and combat the adversary. There is no doubt that we should see in your daily more of the people who deserve to be in it, whether they belong to the party or not, so that they can be shown to our people as models to follow and as the individuals who are able to overcome obstacles and solve problems in the most difficult times.

It would certainly not be amiss if TRYBUNA LUDU devoted more attention to the affairs of the young generation and were able to use a language and arguments that could most easily penetrate the awareness of the young people.

However, if we say that the past years have been a period of glory, we mean that TRYBUNA LUDU has never deviated in the slightest degree from the Marxist-Leninist line of our party -- the ninth party congress line -- has been faithful to the principles of socialism, has made allowances for the historical and present-day problems of our people and for the entire complexity of our reality, and has addressed the readers in a way that has correctly illuminated the affairs of our life and of the party. But this has not been a simple thing to do. Like every party community, you have been subjected to various pressures and temptations. That is why maintaining the line in question and a high temperature and ensuring higher standards of journalism is a great achievement of your collective. All that makes it possible to count this period among the best and most glorious in the history of your daily. This is what I want to cordially thank you for. It is also my cordial wish that your future work is also like that.

We communists must always look ahead. We are very pleased that in their speeches here the comrades pointed out primarily those problems that will require more attention and intensified purposeful action in the immediate and distant future. If anything else should have been stressed by them, then it is the need for greater efforts in promoting people's understanding for and trust in our party's policy. The main target is the struggle for the hearts and minds of our people, which is actually the struggle for accord. The complicated character of this struggle involves accurately defining who is our adversary, what is genuinely hostile, what is an aberration, and what is human weakness or doubting.

Caught up in the mesh of the problems of our people we must overcome our difficulties step by step. There is no doubt that the coming years will be an improvement on the present time, but difficulties will not disappear all too soon. The trouble is that it is necessary to mobilize people by inspiring hopes in them, but, at the same time, we must not conceal the truth about our situation and about the need for rigors and restrictions. Perhaps this is also our chance, because realism is the best kind of optimism. Our people have been given the gift of a specific quality: They are capable of enthusiasm when the country's vital and superior needs are made obvious to them.

The experience of 40 years ago and of the beginnings of People's Poland is unique. Today our country is also in need, and only the party is able to heave it out of its difficulties. These 40 years are our testimonial: It was the party that has given the country a program to which there is no alternative. It includes revolutionary social and civilizing changes, a place in the socialist community, and a sense of national security. This testimonial of history is fully valuable only if it reflects the past and the faith in the future. It is necessary to demonstrate this truth in such a way that it reaches every present-day Pole and arms every party member with the awareness of his mission as a builder of socialism, which is the only program for Poland.

The international situation does not inspire optimism in us. Still, there are no grounds for moods of catastrophe. The socialist states' determination, defense strength, and solidarity with the USSR and the worldwide struggle waged for peace against the imperialist threat are the foundations on which our conviction that peace can be saved rests. In this regard the role of communists the world over is enormous. We must always lay bare the mechanisms of imperialism's global policy and its cynicism vis-a-vis Poland and explain the interdependence between the actions of the adversaries of socialism in our country and the West's anti-Polish policy.

Doing everything we can to win back the trust of the workers class and the working people, we will not retreat an inch in our struggle against the enemy, no matter what camouflage he uses.

Our road is not only right, it is also a victorious road as proved by the 40th anniversary of People's Poland and the 35th anniversary of the party's unification. This has also been proved by the past few years of socialist renewal. Socialism is so rooted in socioeconomic structures and in the Poles' lives and awareness that there is no retreat from it. What only remains is its further development.

I thank you once again for your effective service for our common cause. May the entire TRYBUNA LUDU team score new successes.

Difficulties of Science

AU201436 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 83 p 4

[PAP report on speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at his 15 December Warsaw meeting with scientists]

[Text] Speaking at the meeting, W. Jaruzelski stressed its importance in view of the participation in it of a large number of prominent scientists, inventors, industrial specialists, and rationalizers who are in daily contact with production. He said that the meeting's discussion had been dominated by a common approach to technological progress and by willingness to intensify efforts in favor of this progress in the service for Poland. This is because technology is a key to the future.

This meeting has shown that it is necessary to overcome the old barriers to the "from idea to idea" progress. For this reason we must create and strengthen the necessary economic, materials, organizational, and psychological conditions.

The meeting's discussion primarily raised the problem of what to do in order to overcome the crisis as soon as possible. We can say that our present weakness can be and is our strength because we have enormous reserves in manpower and cadres, especially scientific and engineering cadres, and in the economic, technical, and civilization potential, which has been created above all by People's Poland.

Speaking about engineering and technical cadres, W. Jaruzelski noted that engineers are not always employed in the best way. What is most important is the militancy and productivity of engineering and technical work, which is at times depreciated by psychological and sociopolitical confusion. We must do all we can to ensure that the people who have lost orientation, have suffered various disappointments, and have lost faith in being able to act usefully, are retrieved as soon as possible for our industry and economy and for Poland's development. This is how the party views this issue in line with the spirit of the ninth party congress and socialist renewal. There are also material difficulties, which are responsible for the fact that engineers are not active enough in their work to measure up to their abilities and to the country's needs. We will do everything to rapidly eliminate these difficulties. Motivational incentives and bonuses for invention and rationalization drives must play the main role in this. What we especially need is priority for the authors of import-replacement proposals. This will be promoted also by a system of specialist grades which will be awarded by the Chief Technical Organization.

The necessary legislation will settle many of those questions, but even the best legislation will be useless if it is not backed by man's goodwill. We are probably the only country in the world that has legislation on product quality, but we are also one of the countries in which product quality is at a disturbingly low level. Quality is primarily a matter of responsibility, discipline, and requirements -- of control checks and supervision carried out by engineers and technicians, who are daily responsible for these activities.

Speaking of the economic reform, W. Jaruzelski said that it has created great opportunities for engineers. The independence of enterprises and cadres makes it possible for able and ambitious engineers and technicians to make the best use of this independence.

W. Jaruzelski said that draft legislation on the Committee for Science and Technological Progress is highly advanced and that work on other systems-type solutions is in progress. For this reason we should take advantage of the experience of other countries, especially socialist countries, which have benefited by it.

The crisis has taught us that we can achieve much more through our own efforts than we have achieved previously. We must express great respect and praise for thousands and thousands of scientists, engineers, and technicians who have been able to devise their own solutions in our difficult situation. We have to continue along this road and to overcome the complexes and convictions bunched up in the course of years that the best thing to do is to buy what we need. We must also expand our cooperation with the USSR and the socialist countries. This cooperation is a great opportunity and prospect for our economy.

Speaking of technological policy, W. Jaruzelski noted the need for gradually changing the structures of our industry and for promoting the Polish specialities in which we can be strong and which can be our export aces. It is a great field for action by technicians to promote technological progress. It is also an opportunity for creative workers to fulfill their aspirations and a chance for Polish science to increase its present achievements in certain sectors, which we will jointly determine with your community.

We must raise the prestige of and better publicize the people who promote technological progress and all those who continue to make real contributions to our country's development.

This has been a very useful meeting. We regard it as a form of advisory service for the party and government leadership. We will try to expand our contacts with you and listen to the views of the Chief Technical Organization and the Polish Economic Society, which are those social factors that enable us to better see all our conditions and which provide us with valuable inspiration and support.

FINANCE MINISTER VIEWS IMPACT OF NEW TAX LAWS

PM191531 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 25 Nov 83 p 4

[Interview with Finance Minister Stanislaw Nieckarz by GLOS POBOTNICZY correspondent Czeslaw Zasadzki; date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Last August the new taxation laws approved by the Sejm came into force. Their purpose was to adjust our taxation system -- especially with reagard to the nonsocialized sector of the economy and those employed by it -- to our new socio-economic situation. To what extent has that intention been realized? Why has taxation been arousing so much emotion and why does it continue to do so? What results should our new taxation policy bring? We have talked about these -- and other -- matters with Stanislaw Nieckarz, our finance minister.

Zasadzki: Minister, what were the considerations underlying the preparation of the new taxation principles concerning the nonagricultural nonsocialized sector of the economy and those employed in it?

Nieckarz: In the past, operations took place sometimes in the sphere of our taxation policy which could invite the criticism that our taxation system is an unstable one. Now, apart from the necessity of adjusting the principles of taxation to the new socioeconomic circumstances, the second basic reason for undertaking new operations in these conditions is the need to create an overall system of taxation, that is, one that would embrace, using the appropriate formulation, all socioprofessional groups in our country; one that would apply the general principle that each citizen is treated equally in regard to his obligations with respect to the state budget. This principle is, for example, adopted with regard to compensatory taxation, where compensation tax is today payable by the highly paid worker, the minister, and the premier alike. This is done according to the same sets of regulations, as is only just and fair.

Zasadzki: Why, then, is there so much strong feeling surrounding the question of taxation?

Nieckarz: Among other things, it is because of the wide range of operations and the fairly unorthodox solutions that we have applied in this matter. After all, we are combining the new taxation principles with the introduction of a system of keeping turnover and income registers for both craftsmen and the private trade sectors, and also a register of all earnings subject to compensatory taxation in the socialized economy sector. We are thus setting up an entirely new infrastructure for conducting the new taxation policy. Until now we have not had an adequate system for keeping a record of the population's incomes. And so there was insufficient information concerning the area which requires adjusting through the application of the taxation system.

The unorthodox nature of the situation lies also in the fact that all the draft proposals for new kinds of taxes were publicly announced and submitted to wide-ranging social debate prior to their approval. In the course of the debate many sensible and pertinent comments were voiced, and we took those into consideration before we approved the final solutions.

Zasadzki: What is tax, then, as considered from the citizens' viewpoint, and who pays it?

Nieckarz: Tax is a citizen's contribution to social expenditure, to the financing of the state budget. Tax is a direct and unreclaimable contribution -- which means that the taxpayer does not receive anything directly in return for contributing money to the budget, although all the revenue obtained through taxation is returned to the community in the form of the aforementioned benefits. So much for a simplified definition. To be able to give, one must have. That is why taxation existed before the present era.

In the state of affairs existing today nearly all socioprofessional groups already come under the several new taxation laws. So far the only exception is the individual farmer, who pays a land tax that has not been changed for over 20 years. But the new principles of taxation for farmers have already been published and are now under consultation, with the Finance Ministry taking careful note of all comments regarding this proposal. We expect the new land tax to come into force 1 July 1984.

Taking into consideration the many comments we received from the public, we also changed the taxation principles for Polish firms. We have now brought the principles of taxing those into line with the taxation principles applicable to the handicraft industry.

Zasadzki: Minister, what are the stakes in this taxation game? What is the target of this game? My point is, what proportion of the returns to the state budget comes from the tax levied on the population and on the private sector of the economy?

Nieckarz: All taxes levied on the population and on the nonsocialized sector of the economy, as well as on farmers and those who are employed in the socialized sector of the economy, together with various duties and so on, will this year yield Z60.5 billion. By way of comparison, our total budget expenditure for this year will reach Z2.66 trillion. It is, therefore, difficult to link these sums together and to suggest that the taxes levied on the population and on the private sector of the economy influence the overall pattern of our budget revenue or expenditure to any great extent. For example, our outlays for health protection alone will this year amount to almost Z230 billion, and we should remember that the state budget has to finance all the remaining economic and social needs. To recap, revenue from the taxes levied on the population constitute only one item -- unfortunately, an inconsiderable one -- on the list of our budget revenue sources. But the important thing here is the social justice aspect. It is the rule throughout the world that the more profitable the firm, or the wealthier the citizen, the more they have to contribute to the overall social expenditure.

Zasadzki: No matter -- as you just said -- whether it be a highly paid worker, a minister, or a premier. How many people will, then, have to pay compensation tax for 1983, and how many will pay it in the years to come?

Nieckarz: According to our calculations, this year some 100,000 persons -- out of the 12 million employed in the socialized sector -- will be subject to compensation tax. For the next year we estimate their number to be between 150,000 and 170,000.

If we remember that compensation tax is payable when a person's earnings are in excess of Z300,000 per annum, then to wish somebody to be liable to payment of compensation tax is the same as to wish him high earnings.

Zasadzki: True, but earnings that are regarded today as high may in a year or two be seen as only average. After all, a wage increase has been planned over the next few years. At the same time, the ceiling for earnings free of compensation tax has been fixed at Z25,000 per month. Will it not, then, result in an automatic reintroduction of the universal income tax abolished a few years ago? How do you propose to solve this problem?

Nieckarz: As regards compensation tax, we are first and foremost interested in any increase in those high earnings. And when we look at the taxation scale tables, there is no problem there either. The taxation curve begins gently and only starts to rise sharply for earnings in excess of Z40,000 per month. Aside from that, the Council of Ministers is empowered to alter both the ceiling for tax-free earnings and the taxation scale itself. Although it is difficult today with only general indicators at our disposal to predict the scale of wages for 1985, I will tell you frankly that -- if it is necessary for the maintenance of a balance between the functions fulfilled by taxation and the motivational role of wages -- it will be our intention to reduce the scale of taxation in the lower tax bands rather than raise the threshold determining tax-free income.

The fact is that Poland is at present the only country in Europe -- and possibly in the world -- without a system of universal income tax. I believe that there will be no return to that kind of taxation. We do, on the other hand, want to apply the compensatory taxation system on an ever widening scale. But this will affect only a small proportion of the top wage earners employed in the socialized sector of our economy.

Zasadzki: But if the number of people subject to compensation tax goes up, will we not then encounter the phenomenon of people's professional and creative activity becoming stunted?

Nieckarz: I do not think so. But, my dear sir, if someone does not wish to earn more, then I will certainly be powerless to make him. When a person who draws Z25,000 per month tax-free says that he does not find it worthwhile to earn Z28,000 because he would have to pay Z450 tax on it, then such a standpoint cannot be appraised in terms of financial criteria. Please remember that the tax due to be paid is never equivalent to the total sum of the increment in one's earnings. Even if the earnings, or the income, are very high indeed.

Zasadzki: How would you, then, assess the present principles of taxation?

Nieckarz: If you take the trouble to examine them closely you will come to the conclusion that taxation applied according to these new principles is by no means to be compared to the tightening of the screw. The taxpayers have had a direct opportunity to see that already, and their findings are confirmed by the signals we are receiving from the local treasury chambers subordinate to our ministry. On the other hand, the new taxation laws, combined with the reorganization of the treasury apparatus, allow us to put forward the thesis that these new adjustments will strike a blow at the fraudulent taxpayer, at the whole tax-evading fringe that acquires its wealth at society's expense, taking advantage of its difficult living conditions or, in short, of the crisis.

I would like to say, or even to issue a warning to the effect that everybody who carries out any kind of illegal activity, failing to declare it for taxation purposes [as published], will sooner or later find himself facing our treasury apparatus. And then he will not only have to pay the tax due but he may lose all his assets, his whole fortune.

Zasadzki: Is the taxman, in fact, capable of taking effective action against the various dishonest methods of making money quickly and easily? Against the fringe that you have just mentioned, or -- as others call it -- the economic underground?

Nieckarz: I can provide you with concrete examples. Over the first 3 quarters of this year we had 4,569 cases in which we carried out the so-called routine control checks, or initiated investigatory procedures involving persons who had been, or still are, working for their own private profit, either registered with us, or operating illegally. Of these, as many as 4,016 cases were shown to involve various irregularities. In effect, we imposed additional taxes to the sum of nearly Z1 billion, and to secure payment of those we seized some Z785 million worth of property. But these are not all the consequences: As a rule, sanctions provided for in the law on penal procedure against fiscal offenses are applied in addition to taxation of incomes.

Another example is operation "Millionaire" that we carried out jointly with the militia and in the course of which we subjected 1,434 persons to control checks. As a result, we imposed Z120 million worth of taxes.

The activity of the treasury apparatus, however, does not stop at persons employed in the private sector of the economy. It also includes state enterprises. These, too, can sometimes be dishonest. In the first 6 months of this year we collected over Z30 billion in additional taxes from state enterprises.

We estimate that all these operations have led to a 50 percent increase in taxes recovered as compared with the corresponding period last year.

Zasadzki: And yet, in spite of this, the popular feeling is that the operations undertaken by the taxman are still not sufficiently effective.

Nieckarz: The restructuring of our revenue service, introduced 1 January this year, has made it possible for this service to work in an increasingly effective way. The revenue service constitutes an "armed force" directly responsible to the finance minister and faithfully carrying out his instructions.

But at the same time I wish to stress that it is merely a professional apparatus whose structure is necessarily limited. On its own it cannot achieve the effects that would result from popular support -- a support we are now beginning to get and on which we depend. Every piece of information, especially from our citizens, signaling some instance of dishonesty in matters of taxes, of profiting at the expense of others, is thoroughly scrutinized and acted on.

We are particularly interested in the fringe area of the economic underground that we have already mentioned. It is obvious that anyone who refuses to disclose his economic activities to the treasury apparatus will not voluntarily declare his profits for taxation either. It is therefore incumbent upon the treasury apparatus to expose such activities. And this is why I wish to repeat that even if our treasury apparatus were to be further expanded it would still not achieve the effects that could be achieved with full popular support.

Zasadzki: Thank you for talking to us.

SIWICKI ARMY TU CONGRESS ADDRESS CONDEMNS U.S.

AU202219 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17/18 Dec 83 pp 1-2

[Report on speech by General of Arms Florian Siwicki, national defense minister, at First National Congress of the Self-Governing Independent Trade Union of the Workers of the Armed Forces at General K. Swierczewski General Staff Military Academy in Warsaw on 16 December]

[Text] General of Arms Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, took the congress floor to convey his wishes for a productive discussion and the greetings of the soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces to the delegates, stressing that the congress brought a well deserved satisfaction that was all its own to many of the aktivists and initiators of the construction of the trade union movement within the Ministry of National Defense. The congress is also a significant event in the life of the Polish People's Armed Forces because civilian workers are our fellow comrades in military service.

Expressing esteem for their work, General F. Siwicki said that the entire military community is one family whose activities are always geared toward the supreme interests of the people and the socialist state. This truth was confirmed and is being confirmed by life, as well as by our experiences at times that have a specific meaning for our country. This does not mean there are no disputes. However, even disputes help in allowing us to resolve more successfully the problems that arise.

The honest hard work of the ministry's workers is just as indispensable to the Armed Forces and the defense of the country as is the exemplary service of our soldiers, which often demands many sacrifices that have no time limits, F. Siwicki said. This is above all, the result of the extremely tense international situation -- which is the fault of world imperialism and especially of the confrontational policies of the United States -- as well as the real and constantly growing domestic threat. The open propaganda war that was declared against us and is being methodically stepped up, the ideological and political aggression, and the economic sanctions and blockades imposed on us are only some of the more obvious and most clearly felt manifestations of this threat. There are even advocates of these antinational activities within our country, F. Siwicki stressed. The most extreme form of war that has been declared against the socialist state is the arms race. This threat grew incalculably after NATO began to deploy U.S. Eurostrategic missiles in Western Europe, practically on our doorstep. This imposes a great duty on the whole of society, and, above all, on the soldiers and civilian workers of the Armed Forces.

We have led our country onto the road of social normalization and socialist renewal in defiance of our political opponents. There is room for every Pole to contribute to this process, and many matters must still be settled. These matters cannot escape the attention of trade union members. Man must be a particularly important sphere on which we focus our activities -- his daily existence and the defense of his right and justified interests, but also the shaping of his personality.

Minister Siwicki expressed the belief that cooperation between trade unions and all levels of command will develop and strengthen on the basis of full partnership.

PEOPLE'S COUNCIL SECRETARIES DISCUSS ENVIRONMENT

AU191147 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Dec 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] PAP -- On 12 December in Warsaw, there was a meeting of secretaries of voivodship people's councils, with the participation of Prof Henryk Jablonski, State Council chairman.

Three topics formed the subject of the talks: people's council tasks in protecting the environment, preparations for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the National People's Council and of the people's council system in Poland, and the draft principles behind the election of people's councillors.

Referring to the first topic, Prof Henryk Jablonski stressed the importance of protecting the environment, and of doing this on a world scale. He said that no one needs convincing today that dying forests and polluted waters and air are not the unforeseeable circumstances of fate, but the result of human activity. We are becoming increasingly more aware that what we call environmental protection is at the same time the protection of mankind. But the situation is worse when it comes to drawing conclusions from the above statements.

Prof Jan Juda from the Warsaw Technical University, who is deputy chairman of the State Environmental Protection Council, presented the country's environmental situation. Among the negative phenomena in this sphere, he mentioned the fact that Poland emits the greatest amount of sulfur dioxide into the atmosphere of all the countries in Europe (4.5 million metric tons annually). This is an enormous threat to the environment and is causing heavy losses. The state of our waters is also bad.

According to Prof Juda, if the situation up to now continues in the coming years, there is no chance of halting the damage to the environment. Prof Juda also said that there are several positive phenomena, including the open assessments of the situation, and the inclusion of environmental protection as a priority in socioeconomic plans.

A great deal of attention was devoted during the talks to practical activities in this sphere, especially local activities and the possibilities and tasks of people's councils in this respect.

The second part of the talks was devoted to the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the National People's Council. Jerzy Szymanek, State Council secretary, discussed the council's activity and its important role during the transformations that have occurred in Poland since the regaining of independence.

He also pointed out the very rich achievement of the National People's Council. The celebrations of its anniversary planned for the coming weeks are meant to recall these achievements. There will also be a ceremonious Sejm session.

During the final part of the talks, Zdzislaw Tomal, deputy chairman of the State Council, presented the draft rules for electing people's councillors. He drew particular attention to the new and modified rules, as well as to the new electoral law.

FILMMAKERS ASSOCIATION CONGRESS ELECTS BOARD

AU191234 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Dec 83 pp 1, 4

[Excerpts] PAP -- The press spokesman of the Association of Polish Filmmakers reports that the association's sixth annual general congress was held in Warsaw on 11 and 12 December. The congress was opened by Jerzy Kawalerowicz, producer and honorary president of the association.

The following took part in the talks: Marian Wozniak, Politburo member and Warsaw Voivodship PZPR committee first secretary; Waldemar Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee secretary; Henryk Zietek, deputy head of the PZPR Central Committee Culture Department; Kazinierz Zygulski, minister of culture and art; and Jerzy Bajdor, undersecretary of state of culture and art and head of cinamatography [as published].

The talks ended with the adoption of a programmatic resolution and of the conclusions voiced during the talks that expressed concrete requirements expected both of the film community and of Polish cinematography. Among other things, the congress resolution says that "the artists community is the best form of real participation by the creative milieu in the practical shaping of creativity and in the future development of Polish cinematography."

The congress recognized the "establishment of conditions for joint activity between the Association of Polish Filmmakers, on the one hand, and the cinematographic and state authorities, on the other hand, on the basis of mutual respect and of a common aim toward accord and loyalty" as an important task facing the association.

The congress elected a new main board comprised of 37 persons.

The main board of the association held its first constitutional meeting. It appointed a chairman, Janusz Majewski, and three deputy chairmen: Tadeusz Chielewski, Jerzy Hoffmann, and Marek Nowicki.

CONTROL COMMISSION GIVES PARTY EXPULSION FIGURES

AU211513 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17/18 Dec 83 pp 1, 8

[PAP report: "An Appraisal of Judicial Activities"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission met on 16 December. The discussions, which were led by Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, assessed the judicial activities of the Control Commission in 1983.

Until now, the judicial teams of the Central Party Control Commission have held 67 sessions at which 343 matters have been examined by party members. Decisions were made to expel 69 PZPR members from the party, to impose 145 other forms of party sanctions, and to strike 24 members off the party register. The rest of the matters examined concerned appeals to annual sanctions meted out by the party, giving credit to party members for their length of service, and granting permission to renew PZPR membership.

The main reasons behind expulsions and other sanctions meted out by the Central Control Commission included conduct that is contrary to the party's ideological and political principles, failure to observe the principles of the statute and party discipline, uneconomical and wasteful activities, neglect of professional duties, and violation of the ethical principles that PZPR members are bound to observe.

In carefully examining every reversal of the decisions made by the voivodship party control commissions, the judicial teams of the Central Control Commissions reversed decisions to remove 14 people from the ranks of the party, as well as to annul party sanctions that had been meted out to 15 comrades after assessing the previous decisions as being unfounded.

In analyzing the party's judicial activities as a whole the Presidium decided it was necessary to continue improving it. This should especially concern the honest documenting of accusations made by regional party control commissions while examining the dismissal of certain party comrades. This will enable the objective examination of matters that are already on this level of investigation, because the point is to make the most objective and just party judgements that befit the offenses performed by party members, as well as shortening the process of revoking expulsion and party sanctions, without damaging the praiseworthy nature of party judicial activities.

The Central Party Control Commission gave over 70 warnings to party members, including comrades and managing cadres, in connection with the shortcomings that were noted by state control bodies, which most frequently concerned bad, uneconomical management or lack of responsibility in performing professional duties properly.

It was stressed that these warnings should be issued more widely than they are to effectively counteract the various negative phenomena that occur and the incorrect attitudes of some party members.

These kinds of talks should promote an increased sense of duty in the implementation of party tasks, especially in connection with problems surrounding the improvement of good management, increasing concern for public property, and observing the principles of saving and work discipline.

The Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission became acquainted with the way that the PZPR accountability-electoral campaign had gone so far, with particular consideration for regional party control commission elections, and also evaluated the state of preparations for PZPR voivodship party control commission elections.

ARMED FORCES STAFF IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE HELD

LD212131 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] In Warsaw an ideological-theoretical conference of the command staff of the Armed Forces has been held. The issues of ideological and political training and of forming the socialist attitudes of soldiers have always been at the center of attention of commanding officers and the party apparatus of the Armed Forces. These problems have particular significance in the circumstances of growing threats from the militaristic forces of the United States and other NATO countries.

During today's conference the internal situation, problems of security and the country's economic situation were also discussed.

LEADERS RECEIVE SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION

Jaruzelski Receives Ruben

LD211857 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski has received a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, including Vitaliy Ruben, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, which is visiting Poland. At the meeting, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, the significance of the consolidation of friendship between the two states and of the further expansion of fraternal contacts and cooperation in various spheres was stressed. Reference was also made to the current international situation, which is becoming exacerbated as a result of the course pursued by the U.S. Administration.

Jablonski Receives Delegation

LD212152 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Henryk Jablonski today received a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation. They discussed mutual relations between the brotherly countries and prospects for their further versatile development, the strengthening of economic bonds and scientific and cultural cooperation, and also paid attention to the international situation, particularly to the threats to peace in Europe and the world.

CORRIERE DELLA SERA INTERVIEWS CEAUSESCU

AU191310 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Dec 83 pp 1,3

[Interview with President Nicolae Ceausescu by Ettore Petto, special correspondent of CORRIERE DELLA SERA, in Bucharest on 13 December]

[Text] Question: Mr President, the situation in Europe has become extremely tense due to the interruption of the Geneva negotiations on Euromissiles and to the beginning of the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western and Eastern Europe. You, Mr President, are now one of the most active promoters of proposals and initiatives aimed at seeking new solutions to ease the tension in Europe. What ways and means do you see for resuming the Geneva negotiations on Euromissiles and preventing a worsening of the situation in Europe?

Answer: The international situation is now extremely grave in general due to the continuation and even intensification of the arms race, particularly of the nuclear arms race, to various manifestations of the policy of force and interference in the affairs of other states, and to efforts to maintain and even redivide zones of influence. At the same time, the seriousness of the international situation is compounded by the economic crisis, by the existing financial policy, and by excessively high interest rates which have considerably worsened the situation of the developing countries and deepened the gaps between rich and poor countries. Similarly, some conflicts have deepened, and that has added to the deterioration of the international situation. In these circumstances the new U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles began to be deployed in European countries -- in Italy, too -- and as an outcome of this deployment the Soviet Union withdrew from the Geneva negotiations and announced countermeasures whereby new missiles will be deployed in two Warsaw Pact states and in other parts of the world. Hence, one may say that the direct outcome of the beginning of the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe was countermeasures, and all together have brought about an unprecedented tension in the situation in Europe and throughout the world. Not since the end of World War II has the situation been so serious, and never before has mankind been in such a tense situation. The stockpiling of new nuclear weapons can bring about a nuclear catastrophe that could destroy Europe, the whole world, and life itself on our planet.

That is why we believe that the newly created situation is of exceptional gravity. I must tell you frankly that this situation could have been avoided through greater forbearance and greater understanding for the interests of the peoples and of peace. But it would appear that prestige considerations prevailed over the interests of peace and of human life.

The continuation of the implementation of the measures established, of the deployment of missiles in Western Europe and of the countermeasures announced by the Soviet Union, will create a situation in Europe that could at any moment lead to the outbreak of nuclear war.

The problem now is to find ways of overcoming this situation of halting this new nuclear arms race, and of safeguarding the supreme right of people and nations to life, freedom, and independence. At present there is no more important issue than halting the nuclear arms race, particularly in Europe, and halting the deployment of intermediate-range missiles and the implementation of countermeasures!

Romania -- like other countries and some political figures -- has presented a number of proposals aimed at facilitating solutions and an agreement between the two sides that can ensure a balance of forces -- not, however, by adding new nuclear missiles and weapons, but by reducing the existing ones to the lowest possible level and then taking steps to completely remove nuclear arms from Europe and from the rest of the world and to generally cut back on weapons.

In order to overcome the present situation I believe that the deployment of the new missiles must be halted; the missiles brought to Europe should be stockpiled or stored away, and the United States should stop shipping additional missiles. At the same time, the Soviet Union should postpone or cancel the countermeasures announced, and on this basis negotiations should resume in Geneva between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. As has been asserted, there are proposals on the negotiating table that can lead to agreement, and hence it is logical that the negotiations should be resumed and that steps should be taken to achieve an appropriate accord.

Since the European peoples are directly interested -- because a war with intermediate-range missiles would take place in Europe and would directly affect all the nations on the continent -- we believe that the European states should participate directly in achieving such an agreement between the two sides. What I have in mind is a possible meeting of the foreign ministers of the two military blocs -- NATO and the Warsaw Pact -- that could discuss the situation created and help us to overcome this critical moment and to resume negotiations.

We are in favor of convening without delay a meeting between the Soviet and American foreign ministers and of preparing a summit conference between the USSR and U.S. presidents.

Once the Geneva negotiations are resumed, Romania believes that a consultative commission of the member-countries of the two military blocs should sit in parallel with the USSR-U.S. negotiations to examine various aspects involved in reaching an agreement and to contribute to an accord between the two sides. All European countries, including the neutral and nonaligned ones, may possibly participate in such meetings. Be that as it may, the member-states of the two military blocs must participate actively, in one form or another, in achieving an appropriate agreement.

As I said before, there have been many proposals, and we must do all we can in whatever form to halt the deployment of the missiles and the implementation of the countermeasures announced and to begin negotiations toward an accord. We believe it is still possible to halt the nuclear arms race and to achieve agreement by reducing the existing nuclear means. This is in line with the interests of all European peoples, of the people of the Soviet Union and the United States, and of all mankind.

Question: The Italian public learned with interest of the Romanian initiatives on Euro-missiles and of the fact that Prime Minister Bettino Craxi will visit Bucharest for an exchange of views on these complex problems. Do you believe, Mr President, that Romania and Italy and possibly other European countries can agree on ways of halting the dangerous course of nuclear arming on our continent?

Answer: In view of the seriousness of the situation, Romania initiated various contacts with heads of state and government from Europe and from other countries interested in these matters. We thus exchanged views -- through a special envoy -- with Italy's Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, and this exchange of views turned out to be very useful, as it revealed our joint concerns to overcome the grave situation that has been created.

I am looking forward with great interest to the Italian prime minister's visit to Romania, and I think it will give us an opportunity for a more extensive exchange of views on our bilateral cooperation and particularly on international problems, especially those concerning Europe. I am convinced that Romania and Italy can make an important contribution to overcoming the new situation, to the resumption of negotiations, and to the achievement of an appropriate agreement between the two sides -- all the more so since Italy is itself one of the deployment countries for intermediate-range missiles and can thus play a particularly important role in this respect.

I think that the deployment countries also bear a greater responsibility, aside from being in a position to play an important role in overcoming the present situation; by that I mean that these countries can request a postponement of the missile deployment until agreement is reached. For example, if the FRG, where missiles are already being deployed, had refused to allow deployment until the end of negotiations, the present situation would have been averted. Even now these countries can contribute very much to improving the situation, and in fact to a return to the situation that prevailed before the beginning of the deployment. This would constitute a very important -- even historic, I would say -- FRG and Italian contribution to easing the situation. And I think that not just the Italian and German peoples, but all of Europe and the entire world would particularly appreciate such an initiative.

That is why I believe that our countries -- Romania and Italy -- can do very much in this respect. I believe that Prime Minister Craxi's visit to Romania will have particular significance. There is no doubt that we must seek points of convergence and that, together with other European states -- both in East and West, as well as the nonaligned and neutral countries -- we must strive to remove the grave danger threatening Europe, to halt the nuclear arms race, and to forge a Europe free of nuclear arms, a Europe of cooperation and peace.

Question: Mr President, permit me to ask you: Have you also broached these problems with Italian Communist Party? [PCI] Secretary General Enrico Berlinguer during his recent visit to Bucharest? Can you tell us whether your talks with the PCI secretary general can be viewed as a step toward Italy's and Romania's joint objective of overcoming the situation that has been created in Europe?

Answer: Our talks with the PCI secretary general, Enrico Berlinguer, revealed that we have identical or very close views on European problems. In fact, the PCI itself and its secretary general have forwarded various proposals aimed at overcoming the present situation. We believe that the political forces in our countries and in Europe and public opinion in general can play a very important role, and that they must intensify their contacts and joint actions to save Europe from nuclear catastrophe. Along this line, I view the visit paid by the PCI secretary general to Romania and the talks we had as a significant contribution to these vital actions for all of Euorpe and for the entire world.

Question: Mr President, can you tell us with what hopes and expectations Romania is preparing to go to the conference on confidence building, security, and disarmament in Stockholm in January 1984, within the general framework of efforts to promote detente in Europe?

Answer: Romania made intensive efforts to ensure the success of the Madrid meeting on security and cooperation in Europe. We believe that the conference on confidence, security, and disarmament to be convened in Stockholm in January 1984 will be of great importance, particularly in view of the situation created by the beginning of the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

Romania is preparing for and will go to the Stockholm conference with a desire to make the greatest possible contribution to bolstering confidence among the European countries and to adopting specific measures to ease tension and resume the policy of detente as well as specific disarmament measures in Europe. Aside from the problems of nuclear missiles and other arms, which must be solved at negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States and with the participation of our states, as I said before, I think that specific measures for general disarmament should also be established; I am now referring to conventional weapons, which should also be taken into account in the context of security, confidence, and disarmament measures.

We hope this conference will meet the expectations of all European states and nations, and that it will mark a new departure along the path of peaceful cooperation, of security and friendship among all the states on our continent.

Question: Mr President, you are considered to be very knowledgeable on the Middle East situation and are a statesman who has carried out intensive diplomatic activities aimed at settling the difficult problems in that area. The situation is becoming increasingly worrisome, the more so after the recent armed clashes. What solutions do you think could improve the situation in Lebanon and settle the other problems in that area?

Answer: In its foreign policies Romania has always acted resolutely for settling all interstate disputes solely through negotiations. Life and events have demonstrated that military options inflict great human and material losses on the respective countries and, at the same time, accentuate tension and increase the danger of war in general. Therefore, however protracted and laborious negotiations may be, they are still the only logical alternative that meets the interests of each people and of peace in general. Nothing can justify the use of arms or the choice of military options for settling problems!

Along this line, Romania has always spoken out for solving Middle East problems only through negotiations. Thus, I want to mention the fact that negotiations made possible a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai, and the peaceful return of the Sinai to Egypt. That clearly demonstrates that negotiations can indeed settle any problem, however complex.

Unfortunately, in the past 2 years the Middle East situation has become even more complex, and is now very serious. Israel's military actions have, in fact, considerably complicated the situation and have ended in the presence of foreign troops, the multinational forces, in Lebanon.

Generally speaking, the balance of forces in the Middle East has shifted. Currently it is no longer possible to solve Middle East problems without the active participation of both the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Now, I believe that Israel must withdraw its troops from Lebanon unconditionally, that the situation in that country can be overcome through national reconciliation among all political forces, and that conflicts should be solved through political means and negotiations, democratically, in order to secure Lebanon's independence and sovereignty. At the same time, the other troops must also be pulled out of Lebanon -- I am referring primarily to the troops of the multinational forces. However, until then these troops must cease to interfere in Lebanon's internal affairs and must cease their actions against other states.

At the same time, I believe that an international conference should be convened to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East; such a conference should deal primarily with the Palestinian problem, proceeding from that people's right to self-determination and to independent statehood. All interested countries, the PLO, the Soviet Union, the United States, and perhaps other states, too, which can contribute toward a political situation, should participate in such an international conference.

A comprehensive peace is possible and must be established in the Middle East; such a peace should ensure both the existence and sovereignty of Israel and the coexistence and sovereignty of an independent Palestinian state. This is the only basis on which a just and lasting peace is possible and on which peace can be restored to the Middle East.

Question: A question about the Balkans, Mr President. The danger exists that the current tension between East and West may have negative repercussions on the situation in the Balkans. What do you think should be done to promote and implement Romania's proposal concerning the establishment of an area of cooperation and good-neighborliness, free of nuclear arms and foreign military bases.

Answer: To begin with, I want to mention with great satisfaction that Romania has good relations with all the Balkan countries and that these relations and cooperation -- both bilateral and multilateral -- among various states in this area of Europe have developed in recent years. There have been various meetings on economic, energy, and other matters, and at the beginning of the coming year a meeting of experts is scheduled to take place in Athens to examine cooperation and the turning of the Balkans into an area free of nuclear arms.

In the given circumstances it could indeed be the case that the situation in Europe and the extreme tension that has been created will have certain negative repercussions. However, I believe it is in the interests of the Balkan countries not to let themselves be influenced by this situation. On the contrary, they should increase their cooperation and try to continuously improve relations between them, thus contributing to overcoming the difficult situation in Europe and between East and West and at the same time developing cooperation and good-neighborliness and preparing a Balkan summit conference designed to permit new agreements on developing friendship and cooperation and to create the necessary conditions for establishing in the Balkans an area free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases.

As far as Romania is concerned, it will make further efforts along this line. We also support all endeavors to achieve such a nuclear-free zone in central and northern Europe, and, naturally, we would also hail the establishment of such an area in the south of Europe.

Question: We are coming to the end of this year. I would like to ask you, Mr President, with what thoughts and concerns are the Romanian people meeting the New Year?

Answer: We currently have two groups of concerns for the end of 1983 and the beginning of 1984. The first group concerns the optimal fulfillment of the socioeconomic development plan. Bodies of our socialist democracy have been meeting to examine socioeconomic development and the plan and programs for the coming year. We plan to end this year with good general results in developing the national economy, with a rate of industrial growth of almost 50 percent, and with the resolute implementation of measures to increase the working people's salaries. Next year we plan to achieve a higher rate of development, to obtain better results in agriculture, and to complete the implementation of measures whereby working people's incomes are increased. We believe that 1984 will be a decisive year for the successful implementation of the 5-year plan and of the 12th party congress' decisions concerning Romania's transition to a new stage of development and to the achievement of a new quality in our people's work and life. From that viewpoint I would say we will meet the New Year with many hopes and with real potential to achieve everything we plan.

The second group of concerns is about the international situation. Unfortunately, this year is ending in a particularly tense and grave situation. As I said, Romania is determined to do everything possible to allow this situation to be overcome. We want to cooperate actively with all states, regardless of size or social system, and we hope to be able to find ways of cooperation aimed at overcoming this situation, at obtaining better results in the coming year, at halting the deployment of intermediate-range missiles, and at resuming the policy of detente, thus meeting the aspirations of the peoples to live in peace, freedom, and independence, and to have their peace and quiet secured.

I want to wish your readers and all Italian people ever greater successes in their socioeconomic development, a New Year that will not see the deployment of any intermediate-range missiles in Italy, and a New Year with best results and great happiness!

ROMANIAN-SFRY COMMISSION DISCUSSES ENERGY

AU212045 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 21/12/1983 -- The works of the 33rd session of the Joint Romanian-Yugoslav Commission on the Iron Gates were held in Bucharest over December 19-21.

In the spirit of the decisions made during the Romanian-Yugoslav summits, the commission analyzed the measures regarding a complete use of the Danube's hydropower potential in the power stations of the Iron Gates system, the progress of the works at the Iron Gates II system and the 1984 programme.

The two delegations were led by Gheorghe Cocos, chairman for Romania of the commission and Dusan Jovanovic, chairman for Yugoslavia of the commission.

On December 21, Trandafir Cocirla, Romanian minister of electric energy, had an interview with Dusan Jovanovic.

3 SENTENCED TO DEATH, 15 JAILED FOR MEAT THEFTS

AU221131 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 21 Dec 83 p 5

["Severe Measures Against Those Who Steal From Public Wealth"]

[Text] Recently, in the presence of the employees of the enterprise for meat processing in Tirgoviste, a panel of judges of the Military Tribunal brought to light very grave deeds. A group of law-breakers from the above-mentioned enterprise and some Tirgoviste restaurants was tried for stealing and selling large amounts of meat and meat products, thus causing great damage to public wealth.

Due to their illicit and profoundly anti-social activity, the tribunal sentenced Vasile Boiangiu and his direct accomplices, Teodor Maniulea and Ilie Florea, to death for the offense of undermining the national economy. The other 15 embezzlers were sentenced to imprisonment of up to 20 years with a partial confiscation of their property. The culprits were also obligated to repair the damage cause to public wealth.

These grave punishments were called for by the culprits' very grave deeds and by the social danger they represent. No one has the right to violate the law, especially not those whom society and the collectives of working people have entrusted with responsibility. Any stealing from the collective wealth causes damage to the national economy and to all the fatherland's citizens. Our society punishes promptly and severely those who try to harm the interests of the collective, who do not observe socialist legality or respect the will and efforts of the working people who through their honest work produce the country's goods. A violation committed to the detriment of the national economy is in itself a counterrevolutionary action that affects the interests of all our people.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION OPENS 20 DEC

LD201428 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Servic in Serbo-Croatian 0825 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG) -- The 11th session of the LCY Central Committee began in Belgrade today. Members of our highest party forum will assess the way the LCY's political platform on Kosovo is being implemented. On the basis of 2 years experience in implementing this document the Central Committee is expected to adopt conclusions on further tasks for the LC in normalizing the situation in Kosovo following the counterrevolution.

The introductory report was read by Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Markovic Speech on Kosovo

LD201448 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0633 GMT 20 DEC 23

["Dragoslav Markovic's Speech at the LCY Central Committee Session" -- TANJUG headline -- TANJUG says embargoed until further notice"]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG) -- During the past 2 years the LCY has been unceasingly involved in implementing the LCY's political platform for action in the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo. This activity took place in complex socioeconomic conditions whose basic characteristic is the struggle for the implementation of the economic stabilization tasks on the basis of socialist self-management and in conditions of aggravated international economic and political relations and intensified bloc confrontation.

At its session today the Central Committee must assess the results attained so far and on the basis of comprehensive analysis of the situation, the developments and tendencies, and the positive and negative experiences, and it must lay down the directions of further activity by the LCY in implementing the platform. the conclusions proposed by the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which will be the subject of discussion today and whose final form will be decided by the LCY Central Committee, embody the LCY's main tasks in the following period. Discussion of this problem is bound up with our overall activity on implementing the decisions of the 12th LCY Congress and of the tasks laid down by the long-term program of economic stabilization. Almost 3 years have passed since the counterrevolutionary events and our open confrontation with various activities of enemy forces in Kosovo; and 2 years have passes since the LCY Central Committee adopted the platform. The platform assessed the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, identified their main reasons and the consequences of these events.

The platform notes, and this is one of the most important assessments from which we proceeded in stabilizing the situation, that an attack on the independence and system of self-management socialist relations, on national equality and on the constitutional set-up of our country in any of its parts amounts to an attack on the whole Yugoslav socialist community. It so happened that in the period up to the counterrevolutionary events -- when nationalism attained a breakthrough in a section of the province's political leadership and when the avareness that no matter where the attack begins Yugoslavia as a whole is always being assailed was not clear enough -- the dangers or indeed their origins were not realized in time. This made it possible for some parts of the LC and the enemy forces to confuse their battlefronts. However, the moment open enemy action broke out in its full dimension the political nature of that development was clear.

Time and practice have fully confirmed the analyses and assessments inherent in the platform, and the directions and forms of the LCY's involvement and of all socialist subjective forces in Kosovo, in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and throughout our country established on that basis. The platform remains the basis of future activity. It is precisely the degree to which these tasks have been implemented, with due respect being paid to the realistic conditions in which organized social forces operate, which is the basic criterion for assessing the situation and the results of political activity in Kosovo and a yardstick for the efficiency of the LCY's overall activity. As stressed in the materials prepared for this session, the platform refers to the LCY as a whole, although it is obvious that the main burden of its implementation was borne by the LCY of Kosovo and by other socialist forces in the province.

All the assessments made so far suggest that, mainly in Kosovo but also in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in the SFRY, much effort has been made to overcome as successfully and efficiently as possible and stabilize systematically the situation following the counterrevolutionary irredentist assaults on the integrity and socialist self-management system in Yugoslavia.

Proceeding from their responsibility for preserving the achievements of the revolution, the LCY and other organized forces of our society have taken resolute action. As a result, normalization of the situation was quickly brought about, at least as far as overt enemy activity is concerned. Vigorous measures broke the counterrevolutionary activity and, basically speaking, the situation returned to normal. The analysis of the implementation of the platform, especially as far as the Kosovo LC, the Central Committee of the Serbia LC and others are concerned -- which is the basic material for the today's session -- speaks of undoubted progress but also of the fact that the continuation of enemy activity has not been cut short even until today.

In the changed balance of forces the enemy has been forced to change its tactics and the forms of its activity. The irrendentists are going underground, are adapting themselves to new conditions, are switching over to minor subversive actions, indulge in excesses that alarm the public, disseminate unrest, and continue with their nationalistic indoctrination, dissemination of leaflets, slogans etc.

It is a fact that tasks are fulfilled in various environments with varying degrees of success. Both in Kosovo and outside Kosovo one should have started off with the need to explain the reasons behind everything that obviously had been going on for years, explained the importance of outside influence and the role of the inside factor, and accurately and clearly established a direction of action for the organized socialist forces. It is therefore understandable why the results, although they are significant and should not be underrated, could not have been, objectively speaking, always satisfactory in every respect.

What has been attained so far confirms that we have the forces and the opportunities, that these forces are not insignificant, and for that reason we should not always justify delays, shortcomings, and nonimplementation of some tasks. The activity pursued so far shows that a major section of Albanian nationality, especially the working class and the rural areas, does not accept the spread of anti-Yugoslav and antisocialist sentiments, and that it is increasingly understood that the counterrevolutionary actions of the enemy also threaten the vital interests of Albanians in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia. In addition to the activities of enemy forces from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentistism there has occurred a growth of all other nationalisms in Kosovo and in other environments in the country as well as the strengthening of separatist and unitarist tendencies.

Taken together these activities possess a counterrevolutionary character and position in relation to our socialist self-management system.

Enemy activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentistism has entailed many serious problems: intrantional relations have been disrupted and infringed, a climate of distrust among our population and a real division among our people has emerged, etc, which is very much detrimental to Kosovo and weakens brotherhood and unity; an accelerated emirgration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is also one of its consequences.

The Kosovo LC, especially Albanian communists, and the LCY as a whole, was facing a very difficult and long-term task which demanded that action should not be put off for a moment to restore the disrupted intranational trust, and even more than that, to build consistently, on the principles of socialist self-management and on the equality of our nations and nationalities, trust and healthy relations, compensating for what was ommitted during the previous period when, confronting manifestations of pressure, infringements of social norms and infiltration of nationalism, eyes were closed in an opportunist manner. This is the essential point of our activity today. Clearly, the responsibility of Albanian communists is great and paramount. However, in the struggle for equality, for our life together and for trust there will be no results unless the communists of all nationalities both in Kosovo and LCY as a whole, take part in it. Consistent with our program orientations and tasks implicit in the platform on Kosovo we all in the LCY must operate uniformly and efficiently always bearing in mind the profound class meaning of our struggle for the policy of equality in every community and in Yugoslavia as a whole as well.

The process of nationalistic indoctrination in Kosovo went on for a long time. It made it possible to obfuscate the difference between national affirmation of Albanians and the policy of national equality, on the one hand, and nationalism and national euphoria, on the other hand, which objectively speaking played into the hands of irredentist orientation. In this connection the platform says: "By operating in an organized way and perfidiously over a long period, in the absence of a resolute opposition by organized socialist forces, the enemy managed to provoke a crisis of awareness and hesitation, especially in certain strata of the intelligencia and of student of school youth, and with nationalistic slogans lead astray and mobilize a section of citizens and young people of Albanian nationality in Kosovo. The consequences of such activity on the political life in Kosovo and throughout our country are deep both on the internal political and economic as well as on the international plain. Such events were possible mainly because of the concessions which the LC and other political factors made to nationalistic and irredentist forces over a fairly long period of time and because nationalism had also penetrated the ranks of the LC."

There is considerable lack of understanding over the fact that the kind of results are not yet forthcoming from everywhere which could provide the basis for the conclusion that we have fully overcome difficult ideological and political consequences of enemy activity. We must be realistic in this respect and we must orientate ourselves to a persistent and organized political and ideological work, to the training of suvjective forces to enable them to fight for a different kind of awareness and self-management orientation for a new understanding of intranational relations suitable for socialism.

To stress the objective aspects of the aforementioned processes and their consequences does not mean getting reconciled to the state of affairs. On the contrary, this very circumstance requires the biggest possible mobility and the highest possible level of responsibility and commitment. The analysis of the implementation of the platform testifies that the task was in fact tackled in this way in an organized way and with the knowledge aobut its long-term nature.

In the assessment of the results obtained so far the only correct approach is the one which proceeds from the criterion whether in Kosovo, and as a whole, proceeding from the platform, everything was done that could realistically have been done. When one considers the objective circumstances in which the Kosovoc LC operated and also the transformations -- ranging from ideo-political to cadre transformations -- which had to be carried out within its ranks, there can be no doubt that many significant results were obtained and that the efforts of Kosovo Communists, and those of other socialist subjective forces, were considerable. On the basis of the analysis of the previous period and of the counter-revolutionary events in 1981 and also on the basis of the stands of Kosovo LC, the stands of the Central Committee of the Serbia LC, and of the LCY Central Committee, a clear political and action orientation was established for work among the Communists and within the masses, which was an essential condition successfully to overcome the present situation.

One of the particularly important characteristics of the situation that prevailed throughout the period in the wake of the counterrevolutionary events is the constant activity of the LC, which is becoming increasingly clear ideologically and increasingly organized, comprehensive, and efficient. It was significantly assisted by the leading organs of the Kosovo LC and by the overall LCY activity.

The analysis before you stresses the results of social action in Kosovo. Nevertheless, permit me to emphasize in particular some of these results.

First and foremost, progress in the stabilization of the general political situation in the province is obvious. This has been achieved, among other things, by thwarting some undercurrents of organized underground enemy work and by liquidating the openly violent enemy actions. In the struggle to involve all socialist forces, through direct working self-management and sociopolitical practice, a process of ideopolitical differentiation is also taking place in all the environments. Although this process has not made considerable progress everywhere, much has been achieved in consolidating and in renewing the cadres in LC leaderships, and in the LC as well, by extensive acceptance of new members, and in the institutions of our system as a whole. The effects of intensified activity of the Socialist Alliance, of the trade unions, of the youth organization and of mounting involvement of the Communists in the work of all these organizations are noticeable. The action to overcome techno-bureaucratic and statist usurpations, administrative arbitrariness and meddling with the management of work organizations and of institutions was tackled in a serious way.

Despite the shortcomings and despite the still present manifestations of abusing the law and the powers, work in the sphere of responsibility and respect for the constitution and the laws proceeds in a way that is different from that prior to the irredentist demonistration. Much has already been done on the level of consolidating security organs and organizations of social self-protection from the organizational and staffing viewpoint. This is a task which continues to be important so that all social self-protection factors may have the possibility of fulfilling the functions entrusted to them, that is, of sharing their part of the responsibility to secure social stability and stable conditions for the working life of our working people and citizens. The restoration and further strengthening of confidence in legality and lawful work of institutions of our system is a broad social task and a joint responsibility of all social factors. However, the role and the responsibility of the organs of social self-protection and security are very important and responsible. A higher degree of organization of social self-protection in work organizations, in local communities, and in the municipalities where our working people and citizens of all our nations and nationalities live, work, and fulfill their rights and responsibilities is one of the most important factors in the struggle for the implementation of the tasks in consolidating the legality and the climate of trust and security.

The present economic situation in Kosovo is characterized by certain positive results and also by many shortcomings and difficulties. The positive results are expressed in increased industrial production, although there are also fluctuations, which indicate that the growth tendency has not been stabilized, in improved labor discipline, in greater use of capacities and in reduced business losses. The results in agriculture are positive as well.

The school and educational system, as has been shown, was in many respects an instrument in the service of the objective of nationalist and enemy forces. A section of young people became the victim of illogical and, from the viewpoint of human morality and of politics, dangerous nationalistic and chauvinistic indoctrination directed against other people and nations and, essentially speaking, no less against the Albanian people in Kosovo. The most complex tasks of a long-term nature await us in future in this area; they are discussed at length in the proposed conclusions.

Much has been done since the demonstrations on improving the situation at all levels of schooling and education. Some focal points of nationalistic efforts to lead astray and to manipulate young people have been removed.

Despite the resistance, enemy opposition and dogged persistence of nationalistic ideas and activity, efforts are being made to strengthen the organized activities of socialist forces and to deepen differentiation at the university and within the educational system. This has produced results. Much has been achieved in eliminating irredentist contents from educational plans and programs. The negative influence from Albania has been weakened and in many cases radically cut off, care is taken of the educational cadre. However, further work on the rationalization of the network of educational institutions, on coordinating the number and the profiles of expert cadres and the actual requirements of the economy and of our society as a whole, and on establishing links between education and labor upon self-management foundations requires great attention. Development of our life together and consolidation of trust demand systematic establishment of material and cadre conditions for bilingual education because the importance of the languages for reciprocal understanding is great.

The Socialist Youth Federation still faces big tasks. The Communists must work to ensure the enrichment of the content and method of work of the youth organization and the incorporation of the young people in self-management life in associated labor, in local communities, in schools and at faculties, in the work of the delegations and delegate assemblies and in our society further afield. According to the assessments made in the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia the youth organization in Kosovo has obtained positive results in the ideopolitical work and in educational involvement. Support and assistance to the Kosovo youth organization is indispensible and can be very important. However, I should particularly like to stress the great importance of those activities that contribute to the young people from the various parts of our country getting to know one another, establishing links and in getting close to each other. What is involved is work actions and sport, cultural and other activities which bring young people closer together through joint work efforts.

Comrades, there are no reasons to underrate all the attained results, particularly when one bears in mind that truly great efforts made to fulfill them and a number of changes the Kosovo LC and its cadres made in its work method to attain these results. At the same time, there is even less scope for self-satisfaction in view of the many things that still have to be attained and done, and of the distance which still separates us from the objectives we set ourselves. The one-sided nature of the assessment of the situation considerably hampers efficient action in Kosovo and further afield in more speedily implementing the agreed objectives and tasks. The draft conclusions we will adopt today, following the amendments and changes, provides an assessment of what has realistically been implemented, and stresses the directions of the further activities of the LC and our society.

With regard to informing the Yugoslav public about the Kosovo situation and mobilizing social forces progressively to change the situation, a share of the tasks and responsibility is borne also by our public information media, which on the issue of Kosovo, demonstrated virtually all their qualities and faults. Their contribution to a timely and objective reporting on Kosovo, regardless of all the shortcomings, was positive. A comprehensive look at the volume and quality of reporting shows that overall the task was carried out well and in keeping with the status which the information media and the public enjoy in the system of socialist democracy. However, it should be said that this contribution could and ought to have been much greater if public information media (and editorial policy in them) managed to get rid of one-sided reporting in some cases and situations, and of sensationalism, excessive insistence on shortcomings, excesses, incidents, and so forth which contributed to the expression of various nationalistic and anti-Albanian sentiments. One must bear in mind the fact that tenacious insistence on shortcomings and mistakes alone does not shift the balance of forces in a positive direction. Regardless of the positive intention of pointing out weaknesses to mobilize progressive forces and bring special pressure to bear on remnants of enemy forces and their entrenched members, to do so was often counterproductive. What is involved is not a closing of one's eyes before reality, but the need for high-level responsibility and cooperation among appropriate factors, and the implementation of the kind of information and reporting practice which will be objective, timely, comprehensive and in the service of the policy of working together for better things. As far as the development of our entire country is concerned, including Kosovo, by maintaining a critical attitude toward shortcomings in general and by the public information media, one has to bear in mind the fact that the mobilization of progressive forces can be carried out mainly by following a positive program based on the results obtained in daily work.

This is why the draft conclusions say that Communists and public information media must make even greater efforts to make sure that the tasks of the public information media laid down in the platform and in the conclusions of the Sixth LCY Central Committee Plenum are carried out completely, consistently and responsibly. A unified approach in the implementation of the platform must be ensured and manifestations of one-sidedness, malice and sensationalism in editorial policy frustrated.

The implementation of the platform is in fact a most direct resistance to Albanian nationalists and irredentists and to other nationalisms as well, wherever they may occur. However, the LC must be particularly vigilant against a particular form of the socalled "resistance" to Albanian nationalism. Involved here is the opposition to irredentism from positions of "other" nationalism. Among other things, this particularly came to the fore in the press and in individual publications. Both the LC program and platform, and our entire experience of the struggle for national equality and brotherhood and unity testify that one nationalism feeds another, and that the only efficient obstacle to this is for Communists and other socialist subjective forces in every environment to settle accounts primarily with "their nationalism," that is to say, with nationalism within their own nation, which is the basis on which they can successfully and convincingly oppose other nationalism and critically indicate manifestations and tendencies of nationalism in other nations. This is the essential conditions for the LCY as a whole to pursue a successful struggle against nationalism, for it not to overlook a single nationalism, not to establish a rank list in terms of the degree of their danger, but to take note of them in good time and suppress them in principle, shedding light on the deep-seated social reasons from which nationalism originates.

The platform clearly drew attention to the treacherous and destructive meaning of the activity of the irridentists and of the counterrevolution toward the Albanian people, the working class of Albanian nationality and against everything this nationality has created in socialist Yugoslavia by dint of its own and our joint struggle.

This was a clear warning to those forces, especially the nationalistic ones in Serbia and further afield, which were trying to spread anti-Albanian sentiments. Although there have been quite a few of such attempts it can be stated with certainty that the LC successfully curbed the spread of anti-Albanian sentiments and that, in complex and contradictory conditions, it affirmed once again the policy of brotherhood and unity as the only realistic basis for the development of social and political relations in this area. The policy of brotherhood and unity, as demonstrated by our revolution and by our socialist reality, is an irreplaceable basis of our existence and freedom and of our progress and future. It will therefore be indispensable in future to resolutely bar the way to dissemination of anti-Albanian sentiments and to nationalistic attempts to shift the blame for the enemy activities of Albanian nationalists and irredentists on the whole Albanian nationality as such, to revive old hatreds and intolerance. This is a task of the LCY as a whole, and special commitments in this respect devolve on the Serbia LC, on the Macedonia LC, and on the Montenegro LC where many members of Albanian nationality live.

The only irredentist slogan was and has remained that the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY are developing rapidly on the exploitation of Kosovo. [sentence as received]

On the other hand, nationalists stress that Yugoslavia has channeled vast resources into Kosovo's economic development in vain and that in this way it has merely created a material basis for the nationalism that now threatens it. It is proper that our community, particularly in the past 10 years or so, has earmarked considerable resources for a speedy development of Kosovo. However, contrary to the views of nationalists, this development should be even faster, resources even greater and their exploitation even more rational. This is a vital condition for a successful curbing of social tendencies and relations that nurture nationalist awareness.

As the LC, we have to understand and draw appropriate political conclusions from the fact that in the action carried out by irredentist forces, the slogan "Kosovo-Republic" has persisted most stubbornly and has shown most resistance, together with the demand for an ethnically pure Kosovo. In fact, irredentist forces see these political slogans and demands as their chief political and ideological program for a long period of time to come. They change their tactics but they have kept this slogan as their symbol and as the most concise expression of their aspirations. Awareness of the counterrevolutionary contents and meaning of this slogan has not become sufficiently widespread and neither has the awareness of the fact that its real meaning implies the destruction of our country's territorial integrity and sovereignty, that it serves to stir up national conflicts and that its character is destructive for real democratic and socialist aspirations of the working class of Albanian nationality and all other peoples in Kosovo.

The truth of the matter is that the slogan "Kosovo-Republic" is in fact only another name for the realization of the ultimate goal of the irredentist forces, not talked about directly at present but which is annexation to Albania. Albanian irredentists in Kosovo and propagandists from Albania are aware of the absurdity of the aim to break up Yugoslavia and annex Kosovo to Albania, and for this reason they only stress that they advocate the creation of a republic of Kosovo within the SFRY.

Irredentist forces take the great number of Albanian people in Yugoslavia as an argument to justify the slogan "Kosovo-Republic" and the demand for an ethnically pure Kosovo, expecting this to be the means of realizing their aims. The SFRY Constitution is based on the principle that the number of members of a certain nationality does not determine the measure of its equality, since in that case this would represent a drastic expression of inequality for all the others.

National isolationism expressed in the demand for an ethnically pure Kosovo is contrary to objective trends of social progress. It is a demand directed against Yugoslavia as a community which was created during the revolution and as a state which has been created until today and which is an expression of sovereignty of all its citizens and all working people. With more thought and greater competence, we should draw appropriate historiographic explanations, based on the principles of Marxist historic science, in which a great contribution should be made by the activity of Communists in the institutions of culture, science, and particularly in publishing activity. In this sphere, there is a lot of arbitrariness, ideologizing and misinformation. Clarity of ideological action is not possible without the clarification of these questions. In the proposed conclusions, it is also said that it is a duty of Communists, particularly from the ranks of the Albanian nationality, to unmask in a well-argumented manner the nationalist and irredentist character of this slogan, in their mass political work and in public media and periodical press.

Emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is closely linked with the demand for an ethnically pure Kosovo. Emigration exists as an [word indistinct] open and most serious problem of Kosovo and also of Serbia, Montenegro, and Yugoslavia. Emigration under pressure is not only a dark stain on Yugoslavia's reality, but also a large shadow on Yugoslavia'a international reputation. Pressure is not the only cause, but is nevertheless the chief and greatest cause of intensive emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

Albanians in Kosovo struggling against nationalism and irredentism and for strengthening stability and trust are also exposed to threats and pressure. Naturally, the great significance of our principled orientation toward comprehensive mobility of people, free movement of knowledge, and technology as well as goods in the whole of Yugoslavia remains valid. This is a process which will grow stronger with the strengthening of general economic and self-management development of our society, with associated labor establishing control over trends of reproduction, and with a more extensive process of associating labor and resources.

Great efforts have been made in Kosovo to alleviate the emigration problem. This represents a constant and main subject of the party action in Kosovo and the main task of the organized socialist forces. Such an attitude toward emigration has been achieved by determined political work with cadres (?and) leadership, and beyond, although there are still those who underestimate the significance of this problem. There is still opportunism, superficial work, wavering and formalism. Support must, however, be given to the stand formulated by the leadership of the Kosovo LC: Even if only one person leaves Kosovo under pressure, this should still represent a political problem for Kosovo Communists.

Pressure certainly exists. It is now more sophisticated and covert since the aim is to create an atmosphere of fear, uneasiness, mistrust and restlessness. It ranges from direct attacks on property and threats to security to the problem being ignored in the public media. There is no doubt that emigration is also helped by a low degree of economic development, which we have not overcome successfully, and also by restricted possibilities for finding employment. However, many people who have jobs and fertile land and who have never thought of leaving before are today leaving Kosovo.

Because of this, to build a real feeling of security not only for Serbs, Montenegrins, and Muslims but also for Turks and all others -- in a nutshell, for everybody -- remains the only true orientation in resolving this grave and sensitive issue. The duty of Communists and working people, above all of Albanians, but also of Serbs and Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks and others, is to fight for the creation of a complete climate of security for the living and working conditions of all.

It is necessary to overcome the feeling created that the problem of emigration is above all, a problem for Serbia and Montenegro [words indistinct] just as the entire complex of issues linked with Kosovo is a joint issue and everybody's problem.

Also of great significance is the more essential expansion of ties between organizations of associated labor, municipalities, socio-political organizations, cultural and sports societies of Kosovo and Serbia, Vojvodina and other republics. This cooperation is a matter of linking up. There are real possibilities to expand the pooling of labor and resources and the linking of business interests, elimination of misinformation, strengthening of trust, repprochement and mutual understanding. Full use has not been made of these real possibilities. Recently, great attention is being paid to these forms of cooperation (?but even more should be done).

The platform notes that the economic development of Kosovo is of the greatest significance for the speedier socio-political transformation of the province, for the speedier development of Yugoslavia and for restricting the fresh activity of the counterrevolutionaries and irredentists.

This is the way to strengthen socialist self-management and to change progressively the socio-economic relations that have for some time been encumbered by bureaucratic-etatist isolationism and fettered by administrative interference in the economic trends and economic development. Economic underdevelopment is fertile soil for the revival of many conservative and even nationalistic tendencies. The policy of encouraging a speedier economic development in Kosovo has been aimed, as in the whole of the country, at having the social forces in Kosovo made capable as quickly as possible to bear independently the main burden of the province's development. This orientation could have also up to now yielded greater results than it has done had the above-mentioned tendency of bureaucratic-etatist isolationism not curbed the struggle for worked productivity, had the development of energy potentials been based to a greater extent on the pooling of labor in Yugoslav dimensions, had the educational system been more in the service of economic development.

Regardless of certain positive results, the basic problems of the economic situation in the province are only being resolved slowly. There are still no appropriate structural changes in the economy though recently some steps have been taken in this direction. The economic situation is heavily weighted down by the problem of losses, though this year they are somewhat less as compared with last year when they had been explicitly [word indistinct], furthermore by the problems of internal illiquidity and by the extreme procrastination in fulfilling the province's external obligations. There is also great disharmony between production and consumption and the structure of the institutions of social activity and of education too is unsatisfactory, which makes the solution of the severe problem of employment difficult. Even better organizational standards are necessary in the province, in the Republic of Serbia and in Yugoslavia in order that these problems might be more easily overcome. It is also necessary to take additional measures in line with the established development policy of the country and of Kosovo in order that the possibilities for helping Kosovo and for overcoming these acute problems might be fully utilized.

The great inherited underdevelopment still exerts a negative influence on the speedy modernization of the economy and the increase in efficiency of economic activity.

The use of resources at the disposal of associated labor and the economy is still at a low level. The causes lie in the still explicit lack of industrial tradition, the shortage of professional cadres and their not always relevant distribution, the lack of complex planning of development, etc.

The orientation of many years to the development of the basic production also shows in these years its weak sides, because it swallows immense investment resources and makes more varied structuring of the economy and more favorable economic activations of existing resources in the province impossible. The possibilities for agricultural production, promotion of self-managing production relations in rural areas, and the development of small-scale artisan craft industry are still neglected.

A great problem is the impermissibly slow progress of the process of pooling labor and resources. Reaching agreement takes a long time, and even when it is finished some social factors behave in a lackadasical and even irresponsible manner with regard to the self-managing agreements and compacts reached. Some agreements reached a long time ago have not even been implemented; investment works started are being completed only slowly, and new ones are being started even more slowly and yet they should contribute to a change in Kosovo's economic structure and to a speedier employment of young people. This not only has unfavorable economic effects, but also makes the integration of forces of work and self-management on a broader level impossible, makes the linking up of the working class of Kosovo and of the work collectives in other parts of the country difficult, and slows down the overcoming of isolationism, one-sided interests and bureaucratic-etatist pressures.

Pooling labor and resources, therefore, represents the priority obligation and fundamental responsibility of all subjective forces and in particular for the factors in the delegate system and for self-managing organs and bodies in work collectives. All these problems are not typical of Kosovo alone. They are to a greater or lesser extent peculiar to all parts of our community, but the slowness in resolving them affects Kosovo more severely than other parts of the country.

Kosovo's special economic position demands that we work out the policy of encouraging the speediest development of Kosovo in Yugoslavia, within the framework of the speedier development of economically insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, even more consistently as the complex and consistent political orientation and the practical program. Without such an approach, for the implementation of which all of us must bear their part of the responsibility, it is not possible to more efficiently resolve many of the above-mentioned problems of the social situation in Kosovo.

It should be stressed that in Kosovo, too, the long-term economic stabilization program is the foundation of stabilizing the economic trends and strengthening socialist self-management. The problems which exist could be overcome only gradually along with full and persistent involvement of entire associated labor and all other factors of social life. The responsibility of the Kosovo LC and other subjective forces to activate, in a rational and optimum way, all the forces and resources of the province is great. Reliance on one's own forces and strengthening one's obligations and responsibility in work and decision-making are the basic factors of resolving complex issues of Kosovo's socioeconomic development. In the same vein, the responsibility of all factors in Yugoslavia to exert an influence, by proceeding from real possibilities and long-term economic stablization program, on self-managing linking up of the Kosovo economy and of organizations of associated labor in other parts of the country, on the foundations of economic interests and solidarity, is also great.

Comrades, the SFRY and LCY have always paid great attention to the relations with the neighboring People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Our attitude of principle is to consistently respect the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs, independence, and full equality. In Albania's comprehensive progress, we also see our own interest.

Therefore, we have always given, and will continue to give, initiatives for the benefit of positive development of Yugoslav-Albanian cooperation, wherever this is realistic and to mutual interest, on the foundations of equality and reciprocity. It is beyond doubt that equitable and comprehensive cooperation is in the interest of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Albania, but also of all countries in the Balkans. It could contribute to stability and peace in this part of the world. Socialist, self-managing, nonaligned Yugoslavia can objectively be he active factor only of such cooperation.

Trade and broader economic cooperation between our countries is proceeding successfully. Yugoslavia is Albania's chief foreign trade partner. Unfortunately, this is not the case with cultural cooperation, which has waned since Yugoslavia proposed a change in the existing practice whereby Albania had made cooperation dependent on the development of special relations and ties with Kosovo, a tendency which has already been present for some time.

Cooperation with the SFRY has always been accompanied on the part of the Albanian leadership with attacks against the SFRY, attacks against its internal socialist and self-managing system and against its international policy of nonalignment which Yugoslavia pursues consistently. These attacks are becoming increasingly unscrupulous; but attempt is made to present them as ideological conflicts and disputes. We cannot pass indifferently over these attacks. They cannot be left without an appropriate reply. We do not want to enter into an ideological polemic because Yugoslavia has never considered such differences to be an obstacle to its cooperation with other countries. This has been confirmed by the international relations which Yugoslavia is developing.

In the same vein, we can only point clearly to the fact that the consequences of the Albanian leadership's anti-Yugoslav policy could be dangerous for peace and security, not only in the Balkans but also further afield. We are, therefore, resolutely opposed to such a policy.

We must continue to develop varied activity in order to prevent negative consequences from Albania's international actions against our community. These include radio and television programs on questions concerned with anti-Yugoslav activity by hostile Albanian emigres, their link with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, with Ustasha and other enemy emigration groups, etc. All these are problems and tasks laid down in the platform. However, they demand greater operational elaboration and a considerably higher degree of organized activity by relevant organs and institutions both within and outside Kosovo. This would make the front of our political action more varied and more efficient.

I would like to stress once again the significance of the obligations and responsibilities of the LC in connection with the tasks contained in the platform. These tasks refer to the LCY as a whole, to Communists in all the republics and autonomous provinces. In implementing them, full ideopolitical and action unity can be achieved. Above all, this refers to tasks in the struggle for developing self-management socialist relations and for overcoming etatist elements and concepts regarding the development of socialist republics, socialist autonomous provinces and Yugoslavia as a whole. This is the way to strengthen the initiatives and the influence of the working class, and of associated labor, on all the trends of reproduction and on the development of self-managing social relations, on which basis all interests, including the national ones, should be coordinated. To implement these goals means to implement the historical class interests and the revolutionary tasks of the LC.

The need to resolutely struggle for equality among the nations and nationalities in the economic and political respect should also be stressed again. At the same time this represents the condition and basic direction needed to combat all types and forms of nationalism.

The obligation and responsibility of Communists from all nations and nationalities is to settle accounts resolutely with the phenomena of nationalism, above all, in their own ranks, but also with nationalism wherever it might appear. Since nationalism is the platform used to rally all enemy forces, the struggle against nationalism is the common and lasting task of all Communists and other organized socialist forces in Yugoslavia.

The LCY as a whole faces the implementation of tasks which are significant for the direction of long-term socioeconomic and political development. This refers to the struggle to implement the tasks contained in the long-term economic stabilization program, to the struggle to change production relations progressively and on a long-term basis, and to the struggle to continue to consistently and resolutely strengthen socialist self-management. To implement the set tasks and goals, it is necessary to train organizations and leaderships of the LC to more frequently examine our abilities to act and, above all, to more frequently check the implementation of the decisions adopted.

On the other hand, the set tasks can be implemented on condition that Communists operate inside the system of socialist self-management, above all in SAWPY organizations, in delegations at the grassroots of society, and in self-managing organizations, institutions and bodies.

Only in this way can the LCY operate as an internal subjective force of the system, which is in line with the place and the role of the LCY in our society. This is also the way to assume responsibility for the course of events. As always, success in implementing all these tasks, the LC and all socialist subjective forces of society will encounter many objective difficulties and numerous problems, as well as a lack of understanding and resistance to the LCY policy. This imposes on us the need for constant and intensive activity on the part of the LC, and a strengthening of its action unity and consolidation of responsibility. Due to the existence of exceptional circumstances -- economic underdevelopment and the greatest stagnation in development -- and difficult conditions in Kosovo, the implementation of these tasks will be particularly complex. Hence also the significance of support given by the LCY to the Communists of Kosovo in implementing the set tasks.

Without disputing the undoubted foreign influence, above all from Albania, the entire period of counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo has confirmed that the crucial causes of these events lay in our internal weaknesses and omissions, particularly within the ranks of the Kosovo LC and its leaderships. But this is not the only place. These facts have been understood and assessed in the platform. It is on this basis that the activity of the LC in Kosovo, in Serbia and in Yugoslavia has been organized. This has yielded undoubted positive results. They confirm that the LCY can always achieve its goals if it sets in motion, through broad political work at the grassroots, so to say, boundless forces of our self-managing socialist system and of our self-managing socialist community of equal nations and nationalities.

Other Speeches on Kosovo

LD211031 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1331 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Excerpts] [No dateline as received] It is the working class and the working people, both in the whole country and Kosovo, and their interest in eliminating hostile activity which have served as the chief fulcrum for action by the LC in the battle for promoting and developing the system of socialist self-management, said Sergej Kraigher, the first participant in the debate at today's session.

In this sense, Kraigher opined, the proposed [word indistinct] should state clearly that the LC has achieved and is still achieving success, not merely with the support of the working class and working people of Kosovo but with their direct activity. The bureaucratic voluntarism and etatism which are being surmounted slowly and with great difficulty in Yugoslavia as a whole have been manifested directly and most severely in Kosovo, both in meeting the current day-to-day demands of the working people in their work place and at home, and in the political position and life of the province's development as a whole. This fact, which holds true for all Yugoslavia, finds particular expression in Kosovo, primarily where the municipalities' commitments are not being fulfilled and where the Law on Associated Labor is not being implemented in relations with basic organizations in associated labor. This is also the case where insufficient account is taken of the importance of the municipalities' social (?conditions) and where people are not living and working fully in accord with the self-management life of their basic organization of associated labor and work organization, or their workers' councils and local community.

Turning to the slogan "Kosovo -- a republic," Kraigher warned that insufficient stress was laid on the fact that nationalism did not arise as the result of an unresolved national question but rather served primarily as a means for concealing other political tendencies. The fundamental goal of the counterrevolutionary actions, and nationalists everywhere in the country, was the destruction of socialist self-management, Yugoslavia's integrity and the foundations of equality and brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities This is one of those refined forms which is used by the counterrevolution and nationalism and nationalist forces everywhere in the country and for which they resort to any means.

Among the tasks facing the subjective forces in the province there is the application and implementation of the principle of remuneration according to work. I think this is important in this and similar environments in view of the fact that the young people -- and not only the young people -- are considerably indoctrinated with various egalitarianist slogans from neighboring Albania.

The tendencies towards egalitarianism should be countered by remuneration according to work done, and especially remuneration for productive and creative work, innovation and hard physical labor. In addition to scientific and research work and the reforms of specialized education, this is one of the ways for rehabilitating many organizations of associated labor and solving various economic difficulties and the crisis affecting the whole of our community.

The political platform on Kosovo was and remains a powerful ideopolitical instrument for action by the entire LCY and particularly the LC of Kosovo, against the underlying causes and serious consequences of the counterrevolutionary events brought about by the very aggressive assaults of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, Sinan Hasani said. I think that our sociopolitical forces in Kosovo have, with the constant support and help of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and our entire socialist Yugoslav community, to a large extent won the battle on all fronts and that the results achieved are a great source of encouragement and guarantee of a definitive stabilization of political conditions in Kosovo.

By replacing the people who had brought the political situation in the province to an impasse and by assigning their functions to cadres who show the necessary ability, understanding and resolve to wage the struggle against the enemy, our ranks have been consolidated and strengthened, Hasani stressed. This was a basic precondition for moving into the extremely necessary open political offensive. The fact that nationalism is the greatest evil for the environment in which it appears has, in our assessment, been profoundly recognized by the majority of Albanian workers, peasants and intelligentsia, and even a large proportion of those young people who were caught up in the nationalist and irredentist demonstrations or fell under their influence.

So far about 1,500 members have been expelled from the LC and in the same process, Hasani stressed, three times as many new members have been admitted.

In the majority of cases we have succeeded in eliminating nationalist excesses from our curricula and programs and in replacing them with suitable content. We have also succeeded in doing away with imported textbooks encumbered by these excesses and in creating new ones and new reading material for schools to replace them. More than 300 workers have been removed from all levels of schools and educational institutions.

Political and ideological differentiation has been particularly concentrated and broadly applied in the disrupted and cooled international relations and the emigration of Serbians and Montenegrins from Kosovo, which was and remains and priority task among the perfidious goals and criminal actions of the Albanian nationalists, irredentists and separatists, Hasani said. I think we have achieved definite results in this sphere, but still not those we set ourselves.

We in Kosovo feel that we have forced the Albanian nationalists and irredentists to abandon public appearances, that we have broken up their illegal organizations and groups, that we have unmasked to a great extent their ideological and political starting points, but that they have not been finished off and still remain a danger. They have retreated to the underground in the province and are attempting to renew their illegal organisations, consolidating themselves into the so-called movement for an "Albanian Republic in Yugoslavia" and from this standpoint voicing their views through slogans, pamphlets and other minor actions.

Through a careful study of the distributed material which has been seized, the trials and various forms of hostile activity in our country and a comparison of all this with Enver Hoxha's pamphlet "Titoists" and the propaganda and subversive activity of the Albanian intelligence and diplomatic service, it is not difficult to establish that the innermost Tirana leadership is the main center of the irredentism, Hasani said. It is not difficult to explain who else this benefits and who else abroad has interfered here. After all, this is not saying anything new or unknown, as Enver Hoxha has been pursuing an unscrupulous policy towards Socialist Yugoslavia for decades.

Nikola Ljubicic stressed that help should still be extended to the communists in Kosovo to bring the battle against Albanian irredentism and nationalism to an end. In assessing how far we have gone in the struggle against the counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo after almost 3 years of activity we can say, Ljubicic added, that much has been done and achieved, but not as much as we wanted and needed to. We have not completely thwarted the actions of the enemy or its operations and influence. Nor have we removed the causes of this.

Kosovo's future lies in its connection to the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Coming closer together and strengthening trust, more comprehensive human contacts, the linking of municipalities, towns, local communities, work organizations, social and sociopolitical organizations, schools and educational, information, cultural, sports and all other organizations -- this is the real way to return unity and togetherness to Kosovo, Nikola Ljubicic stressed. The speedier changing of the League of Communists work methods and particularly those of its leadership is, according to Todo Kurtovic, a basic task. In this connection, it is necessary to talk about innovations in Marxist education and in the LC and society. New ways of gathering people together and promoting dialogue, particularly with young people also need to be looked at.

Economic trends in Kosovo are far from those originally planned. Kosovo's economy, Todo Kurtovic said, cannot operate more successfully under present conditions as they differ markedly from those in other environments. The economic interests of everyone in Yugoslavia dictate more successful economic activity here. Insularity of aspirations towards centralism are hindrances in all spheres.

The Albanian Government does not conceal in the slightest its attitude towards the constitutional entity of Yugoslavia, its territorial integrity, and so on, and continues pursuing a double approach towards Yugoslavia. On the one hand it maintains that it does not interfere in the SFRY's internal affairs and desires good-neighborly cooperation, and, on the other, it is in fact working to connect Kosovo and parts of Macedonia and Montenegro to Albania, said Dobrivoje Vidic.

Pointing to the need to publish all the archive documents on relations between the SFRY and Albania up to 1953, as laid down by the law, and to put them at the disposal of historians and the public, Vidic said that even greater involvement by scholars and researchers in the sphere of these relations was of particular importance.

When it comes to intranational relations in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, we have to stress once again that the policy of the Albanian leadership towards our national minorities living in Albania (some 50,000 Macedonians and Montenegrins) represents a serious problem in our relations, since not even basic national rights are guaranteed these minorities. There is no reason why these issues should not be raised, on the basis of our well-known principled stands and orientations and the generally recognized international norms. This is our legitimate right and our duty towards the section of the Macedonian and Montenegrin nations living in neighboring Albania.

There is no historic alternative to the normalization of the Yugoslav-Albanian relations and mutually beneficial equitable cooperation between the two neighboring countries, both from the point of view of lasting interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Albania and from the point of view of peace and security in the Balkans and beyond. The SFRY and the LCY have always been consistent in respecting the sovereignty and independence of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. As we have stressed on many occasions and as Comrade Tito used to say, Yugoslavia -- proceeding from the assumption that the interests of independence and security of our two nations are closely linked -- is vitally interested in neighboring Albania's development as an independent socialist country. Likewise, our country and the LCY consider a comprehensive social, economic and cultural development of the Albanian people to be in the interest of all our nations and nationalities.

It should be expected that one day Albania's socialist forces and working people will be in a position to exert a more decisive influence to bring about Albania's complete opening towards the world and its neighbors and particularly towards the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, together with whom the Albanian people shed blood in the struggle for freedom and independent socialist development in our countries.

Milan Pancevski stressed that the main characteristics of the ideo-political activity of the LC of Macedonia consisted of having clearly determined ideo-political stands and assessments of the essence and character of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo and their present and possible future repercussions, and in having successfully explained this essence and initiated processes of differentiation.

I believe, Pancevski went on, that we should have a very clear and consistent ideo-political stand on some central issues on which the degree of realization of our stands depends. First, this concerns the problem of securing unity in interpreting assessments and in political action. According to Pancevski, until now there had relatively frequently been differences in views, stands and even in action. To illustrate these statements, Pancevski mentioned different interpretations of the slogan "e-ho ", although its character was quite plain. He added that we had found ourselves in a situation where irredentist forces explained and showed us that it was their slogan, as for example during recent demonstrations in Belgium and by writing the slogan in public places.

Pancevski asked what our attitude was toward agreeing on and implementing specific policies or stands which meant reaffirmation of specific views and principles embedded in the ideological concept of our policy of equality, brotherhood and unity, and which had been neglected due to infiltration and influence of alien ideological forces and views. Innovation and application of some unacceptable stands and practices have been the result of great weaknesses and inconsistencies in our former policy and have in effect made possible the escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, said Pancevski.

It seems that the most significant are those forces which identify the LC stands with the policy of abandoning our guidelines in international relations and understand them as conveying mistrust towards the Albanian nationality and as an expression of unitarism and the like. We have to state it plainly, said Pancevski, that such views represent either covert or open resistance from the nationalisitc positions and that they wish to preserve the situation which means permanent and open imposition and escalation of nationalism.

Pancevski spoke in favor of unmasking the essence of the slogan "Kosovo-Republic" and in favor of a clear and deep analysis and explanation of global political implication which could result from it. In this context we have to explain the position of the provinces in a more complex manner and with a united approach, whereby we have to bear in mind all aspects of this position as described in the constitutional provisions of the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Pancevski said.

More than ever before Kosovo is today aware of the fact that a speedy development of the province must be secured primarily by Kosovo's own resources and efforts, said Ilija Vakic. Significant changes and qualitiative alternations are evident in this connection, particularly in some spheres. We have agreed that the attitude of members of the LC towards production tasks determines their devotion and loyalty to the LCY policy and that ideological-political differentiation is carried out on this basis. However, said Vakic, there are still instances of old views which say that we will somehow manage to overcome difficulties, that there is someone else who will think on our behalf. There are likewise instances of negligence, lack of discipline, irresponsibility and failure to take account of the overall economic trends in which Kosovo's economy has to find its place. [passage indistinct]

Ilijaz Kurtesi stressed that in the past 2 years an intensive struggle on all fronts had been going on. Significant results have been achieved but there are still major tasks, the implementation of which calls for full commitment and great efforts on the part of the LC and all organized socialist forces of society.

Now, Kurtesi went on, it has become clearer that the advantage of our system is not automatically a protection against internal and foreign dangers which are lying in wait for socialist society. For the kind of revolutionary orientations such as ours, leading forces of society led by the LC must struggle day by day and persistently. One of the greatest omissions of the Kosovo LC [words indistinct] is that it had not been in its place and that it had not been able to cope with the given situation. At this point in time, however, the Kosovo LC is more prepared and more capable.

The information of the working people and citizens about the grave events in 1981 and the dangers which had been inflicted on our system of self-management, our nonaligned policy, brotherhood and unity have contributed to the great majority of the members of the Albanian nationality condemning the substance of the enemy activity and understanding that damage has been inflicted above all to the affirmation and great achievements implemented by the Albanian nationality in its development so far. Kurtesi noted that it was precisely in that the explanation should be sought for a more mature and more consistent behavior of a great majority of citizens, working people in rural areas and in particular of the working class of Kosovo, which make a great contribution to the trends of our entire stabilization.

Kurtesi went on to note that the enemy's present activity is reflected chiefly in writing slogans, circulating leaflets, in intranational excesses and verbal propaganda and this in environments where there is still not enough vigilance and militancy of our forces. Though these activities have decreased they should not be underrated. On the contrary, even better organization standards are needed to combat this activity, above all with ideopolitical action. To halt the process of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, Kurtesi described as one of the major obligations of the LC of Kosovo and stressed that political and other conditions must be created to eliminate all phenomena which exert an influence on emigration. Halting the process of emigration must be the result of the struggle of the entire Kosovo LC and all progressive forces of the province. It goes without saying, Kurtesi added, Communist-Albanians have a special role and responsibility in this and the Communists of other nationalities too cannot struggle for the stabilization of the situation by leaving Kosovo. In this respect the further support of the LCY and the Serbian LC is necessary.

A serious problem faced by the LC is how to carry out at the present level the reform of the economy and of education but both of these aspects are closely linked with the problem and prospects of employment of young people, Dusan Dragosavac said.

In this respect, too, great efforts should be made both in Kosovo and everywhere in the country so that young people orientate themselves, above all, to productive work and commit themselves directly to self-management.

The question which should now be seriously considered is also to provide correct information to our citizens, that is [word indistinct] ensuring full truth. We must insist on this. In this respect we should also bear in mind not to give cause to the policy of the strategists of psychological war towards Yugoslavia. They are interested in popularizing every deed of the enemy as well as all social problems in Yugoslavia. What is happening in Kosovo has also a specific weight which the enemy uses and in this context successes and results are passed over in silence while the enemy and irredenta as well as Enver Hoxha's backward Stalinist regime in Albania is presented as strong and the system of socialist Yugoslavia as weak.

An important aspect of the LC activity in this respect is also the flow of information to the Albanians. So far progress has been achieved in the audibility of radio, above all of Pristina radio.

However, there is still the problem about the way to cover all of Kosovo with TV network. Should this not be the case we shall find ourselves on the defensive.

We must develop the consciousness in all our people that in every nation and nationality in Yugoslavia, as well as in the rest of the world there are various classes, and that we are still a class society, and thus also various class, ideological and political attitudes on various issues, including national ones, exist. This one is particularly sensitive in our country. Everything should be done so that in all (?republics) and in the province and everywhere in Yugoslavia we develop also the feeling of security that there will be no nationalistic incidents, excesses and pressures, Dragosavac believes.

Our attitude towards Albanian nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo is also manifested in our sharpening our senses for our own situation, for positive actions and for a criticism of our practice in developing intranational relations and strengthening equality, Bosko Krunic said. One must constantly bear in mind the fact that regardless of the developed economic, social and political foundation of equality, in conditions of stratified intranational relations, it is possible that mistrust is spread and national unity weakened through intolerance to a nation or nationality. Hence, emphasis is also placed on efficient settling of accounts with every phenomenon which bears in itself the seed of dissent. With reference to the assessment of the situation in Kosovo, there is full agreement about the entire situation improving and qualitatively changing, Hamdija Pozderac stressed.

However, irredentism has not yet been defeated but it is reviving its actions and this shows the breadth of its encroachments and its deep roots. What also causes concern is the phenomenon that the affirmation of the Albanian nationality in all spheres of life is often interpreted as Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Very often that which represents the national affirmation of the Albanian nationality and that which is irredenitsm is equated. The Kosovo LC must have the comprehensive support of everybody not only through the attempt to illustrate and monitor seriously, objectively, and substantially the real social processes and trends in Kosovo but also through the struggle of the LC in every environment against nationalism, Dogmatism, revanchism or separatism as tendencies which are opposed for ever to the system of socialist self-managing relations which we are building. In this context the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina has never separated the obligation to help and support the subjective socialist forces of Kosovo from the need for a continued struggle of its own against all forms of nationalistic ideologies. Therefore, we consider as an inseparable part of the contribution to the struggle for the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo in the past period, in addition to the activity against the exponents of Albanian nationalism and irredentism who have come to the fore in Bosnia-Hercegovina, also the struggle against Muslim nationalism expressed most explicitly in the platform of pan-Islamism, and the struggle against the Serbian and Croatian nationalism.

In the entire context of this question, what causes particular concern is the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo under pressure. Though it is entirely clear that it is not possible to put a full stop to the emigration process and that migratory processes in our country and in the world are a reality and a constant of our times, emigration under political and other pressures must, nevertheless, be firmly put an end to. In this respect the responsibility of the working people and citizens and in particular of Communists of Albanian nationality must be even more incisive.

Through public information media, through statements by [word indistinct], individuals and in other ways, the public has not only been informed but also misinformed about the real circumstances in Kosovo and about the truth with how much success and difficulty, with how much resolve and hesitation or opportunism the Kosovo LC is fighting against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, Petar Matic said.

It is therefore a good thing, he added, that the LC membership and the Yugoslav public are informed by the LC and not by somebody else about what is being done and what has really been done in Kosovo and what not and why not. Frequently and not without ulterior motives, in environments outside Kosovo (?by) individuals and groups, the atmosphere of frontal mistrust towards Kosovo LC leadership and the Albanians as a whole is being spread. A contribution to this atmosphere is also made by a section of our nationalistically colored and anti-Albanian information media, not always by individuals who have no right to do so, but who do not like anything in our society except their own nationalism.

The LC membership and the public, Matic said, are faced with very different and frequently entirely contradictory assessments of what is happening in Kosovo today. The assessment is made, by bypassing the LC, about the extent to which the LC and the socialist forces of Kosovo are successful in their struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism. I would say that the judgement and the assessments are not always favorable to the LC.

Matic went on to say that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins continues to a lesser extent but that in Kosovo, some environments and individuals are too sensitive to criticism which comes from outside the province. Therefore, in the period to come there must be an even more organized and decisive settling of accounts with Albanian nationalism and irredentism, whose strongholds are, I believe, in a section of education, science and culture.

The struggle against the kind of emigration which takes place under pressure should be more resolute, but the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo as a whole should be reduced and if possible prevented. The slogans about "ethnically pure Kosovo" and "Kosovo -- a republic" were born in Kosovo and it is there that they must be defeated and buried with the measures and policy of the LCY and all available means of our community. The implications of the slogan "Ethnically pure Kosovo" could be extended also to other areas and other peoples. In this context it should be borne in mind that the nationalistic-racist concept has its inception in expelling the members of other nations from one's own national environment and then comes the final act, the finale of which is genocide of the members of other peoples and nations. Therefore, in his view, the part of the front which is fighting in Kosovo against Albanian nationalism should be strengthened even more.

Communist and LCY organizations in the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) and members of the Army have achieved important results in implementing the platform, Kemal Korajlic stressed. When one bears in mind that tens of thousands of conscripts from Kosovo, mostly young people, pass through training in the YPA and units of territorial defense in just 1 year, it is not difficult to conclude that we have great opportunities in the YPA for mass work in political education and upbringing. Even though the majority of soldiers of Albanian nationality fulfill the obligations of YPA members very correctly and above all as citizens of the SFRY, and adopt the self-management system and LCY course, it should be stressed that the indoctrination of young Kosovo people with Albanian nationalism and irredentism is quite widespread. Our practice shows that correct training and patient ideo-political educational work can have a positive effect on young people, even those who have been under the influence of slogans and concepts based on nationalism and Albanian irredentism for a long time. Attempts to create distrust towards soldiers of Albanian nationality are being thwarted by their full affirmation as soldiers of the YPA. Stories about their being disregarded or treated unfairly are just one of the forms that the enemy's activity in the Army and towards the Army takes. In the course of one year in the YPA, Korajlic stressed, an average of about 800 soldiers of Albanian nationality are admitted into the LCY, or (?five) percent of the total number of those in the Army who are admitted into the LCY.

We would be wrong not to notice that indoctrination is still being carried out in a certain manner. Because of our effective measures it cannot carry on in the previous way -- in university departments, public platforms and the like -- but it is still being carried out persistently and in an organized fashion in the undergound by the irredentists and the centers conducting these matters.

An ethnically pure Kosovo is not a slogan or campaign of the irredentists. It is the foremost political and strategic aim of the counterrevolution and the policy of Enver Hoxha, which relates not only to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo but also to the entire non-Albanian population. The process of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, which is continuing, is the greatest problem facing Kosovo and one of the major difficulties facing Yugoslavia. It is difficult to understand and explain the lack of unanimity in assessments of the reasons for the Serbs and Montenegrins emigrating and the extreme paucity of results in preventing this emigration.

Despite everything we have achieved and realized in the past 2 years, the problems facing people in Kosovo are such that they demand speedier solutions, greater political and overall stability and security for the working people and citizens. In this sense, said Vlado Strugar, our responsibility is no less today than it was in 1981 and at that time of the adoption of the platform. However, instead of aiming with all our resources for a faster improvement of the situation and the removal of the causes of the counterrevolution, we initiate polemics about whether the process of differentiation in the Kosovo LC is slow or not, whether the number of Serbs and Montenegrins who have emigrated from Kosovo has fallen or not, and whether pressure is the prime cause of the emigration or just an indirect one, and so on. Such differences cannot, admittedly, halt the process of stabilization in Kosovo but they can slow it down. We must recognize, Strugar said, that these are serious weaknesses in the ranks of the LC which make possible the continued activity of Albanian and other nationalisms. It seems to me that not everything is being done, either in Kosovo or the country as a whole, that should be done in this difficult economic situation. In the platform and other documents we confirmed our clear tasks and commitments in this respect but we are not carrying them out.

The Serbian LC has in its implementation of the platform manifested significant activity, provided resolute and comprehensive support to the LC and other organized socialist forces in Kosovo in their struggle to eliminate the causes and consequences of the counterrevolutionary events and in combatting and exposing of the activity of Albanian irredentists and nationalists, Radisca Gacic said. At the same time, the LC of Serbia has reacted very resolutely to all the phenomena of Serbian nationalism, to attempts to create anti-Albanian moods.

It is beyond dispute, he stressed, that the chief cause of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo has been and still is pressure. The facts that pressures have grown from crude and brutal attacks in the most perfidious forms should not essentially alter our basic assessment that as long as the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins goes on in such a worrying extent, the enemy is achieving his main aim -- an ethnically pure Kosovo. We cannot accept this thesis with which at times the responsibility for emigration is shifted on those who are emigrating, who are abandoning their homeland, country and work, without our having created conditions for their unhindered stay.

In the ranks of Kosovo intelligentsia hardly anything has been done on the genuine ideo-political differentiation with Albanian nationalists. It is not merely a question whether the most extreme Albanian nationalists have been removed from the university and from scientific, cultural and information institutions and whether textbooks have been withdrawn, though this too is important.

What is also involved, Gacic said, is that there has not been for a long time genuine socialist Yugoslav explanations of those phenomena of nationalistic indoctrination which has been dominant in Kosovo for a long time. There are no books, studies, scientific differentiation with all conservative nationalistic and irredentist ideas which have for a long time and under direct influence from Albania affected the spiritual life in Kosovo.

Unfortunately, today too in some works and scientific publications the extremely conservative thought based on mythology of blood and soil, a thought which crudely falsified historical facts, can be found.

Opportunistic behavior, silence and reserve of a section of Albanian intelligentsia in Kosovo with regard to the political action raised with the platform, objectively reduces the effects of this action, Radisa Gacic stressed.

Satisfactory results in the sphere of self-managing pooling of labor and resources by organizations of associated labor in Kosovo with the associated labor of all republics and Vojvodina, despite numerous initiatives and certain concrete results, have still not been achieved, Dusan Veljkovic said.

In Macedonia, recently, efforts have been made to revive such firms of cooperation and in this context the common knowledge has been arrived at about the mutual interest of the economy of the republic and of the province in general and in particular as neighboring areas, to (?develop) and strengthen, all forms of economic cooperation on a foundation of higher quality and more long-term in character.

By breaking up and thwarting the militant activity of the enemy a broad political offensive was launched in local communities, schools and work organizations, said Zivan Vasiljevic. Results have been forthcoming but they are not satisfactory in all environments.

On the problem of emigration, Vasiljevic stressed that it was inadvisable in circumstances when the enemy was still active to attempt to differentiate departures from Kosovo under pressure from those not under pressure. Cases of emigration through individual choice or for personal and justified reasons aside, it is difficult to play down the serious fact that we are talking here about a mass movement of families and individuals in a short period of time, and not only from towns but the countryside, too. Naturally, Albanians have also been leaving the province, but there is no question of their being motivated by political pressures. Only when the situation is normalized completely and the disrupted relations put in order will it be possible to regard any emigration in no matter which direction as being voluntary and not caused by political pressures, said Vasiljevic.

The nationalist assaults by the Albanian nationalists have not, except in rare cases, confused the organized socialist forces in Macedonia, said Hisen Ramadani. The political action has been waged with organization and resolve everywhere. In this action two simultaneous processes have been unfolding: ideo-political mobilization and differentiation. The unbreakable links between the Albanian nationality and the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia have been confirmed here.

Having pointed to the results achieved in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in the social and material development in general, and in particular in the areas where the Albanian nationality lives, Ramadani warned that Albanian nationalism and irredentism were leading to a fratricidal war as its strategic starting point was the (?destruction) of the brightest gains of our socialist revolution.

The Albanian nationality will not and cannot allow itself to be drawn into such a fratricidal war. It will not and must not allow destabilizing forces to rise from its ranks. It must not allow itself to earn the distrust of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, which is what the internal enemy forces and leading clique in Albania want.

Miha Ravnik recalled the agreement on the all-round stimulation of self-management pooling of labor and means among organizations of associated labor and their direct linking-up. In today's discussion it was also necessary to give answers to the question of what kind of results we had achieved in implementing this policy and to identify the causes which led to the failure to realize better results. He then stressed that in the self-management pooling of labor and means on the basis of income between organizations of associated labor in Slovenia and Kosovo a slowdown had come about last year, and even more so this year.

In essence, Ravnik added, we need to remove more quickly the obstacles preventing workers from controlling social means because there cannot and should not be any frontiers between organizations of associated labor except those set out in the social plans and the joint commitments agreed in solidarity in the SFRY Assembly.

Following the discussion which lasted several hours and in which (?every) member of the Central Committee took part, the 11th session of the LCY Central Committee noted at about 2000. With the adoption of conclusions on the tasks of Communists in further implementing the political platform on Kosovo.